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COLLECTION  
OF  
VOYAGES,  
DISCOVERIES and TRAVELS:

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Whatever is worthy of Notice, in  
EUROPE, ASIA,  
AFRICA and AMERICA:

IN RESPECT TO

The Situation and Extent of Empires, Kingdoms, and  
Provinces; their Climates, Soil, Produce, &c.

WITH


The Manners and Customs of the several Inhabitants;  
their Government, Religion, Arts, Sciences,  
Manufactures, and Commerce.

The whole consisting of such ENGLISH and FOREIGN Authors  
as are in most Esteem; including the Descriptions and Remarks  
of some celebrated late Travellers, not to be found in any  
other Collection.

Illustrated with a Variety of accurate

MAPS, PLANS, and elegant ENGRAVINGS.

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 VOL. VII.

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L O N D O N:

Printed for J. KNOX, near Southampton-Street,  
in the Strand. MDCCLXVII.



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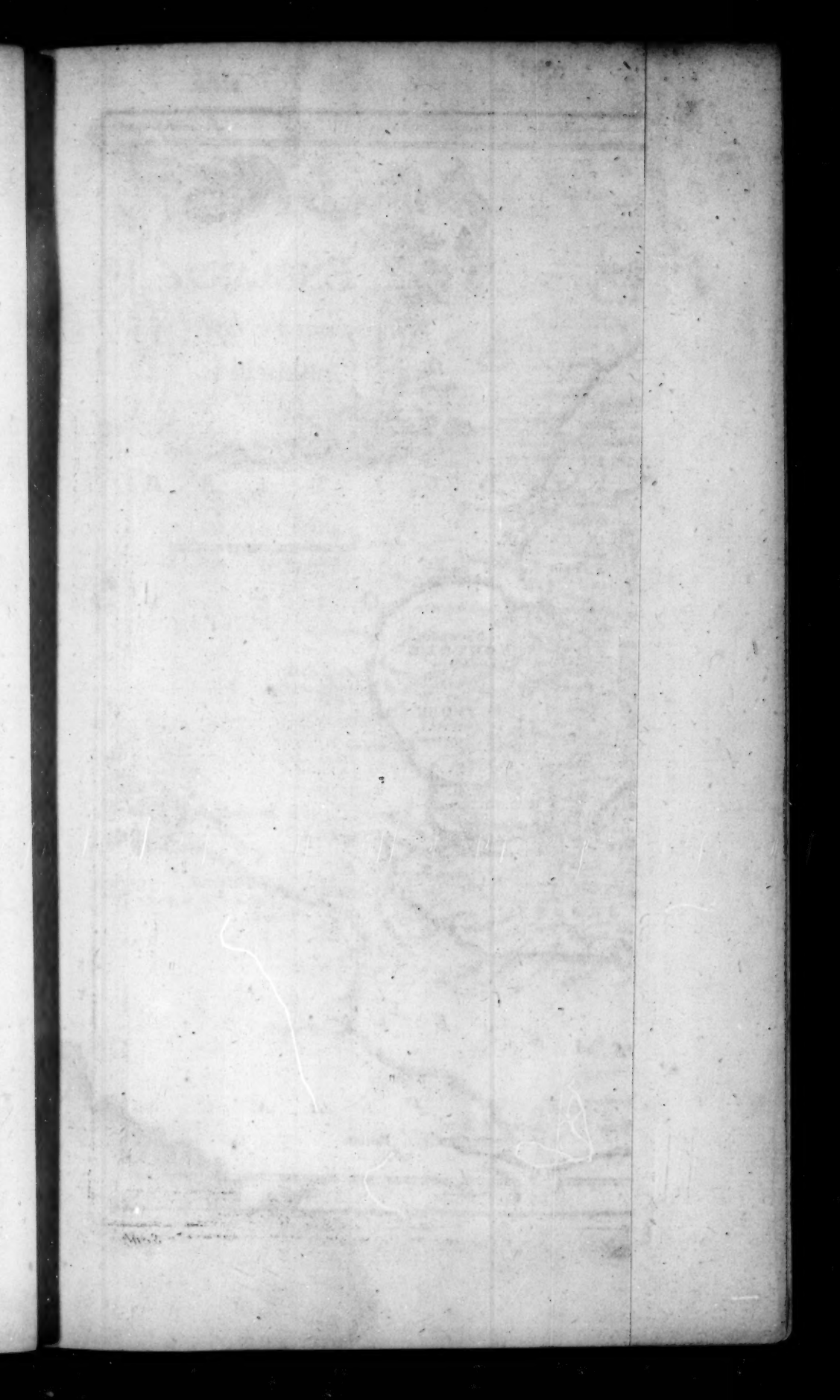
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T. Kitchin Sculp.



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A

# COLLECTION

OF

## VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

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Of GREAT BRITAIN in general.

**G**REAT BRITAIN, the largest island in Europe, comprehends the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, with the principality of Wales. Its latitude, at the Lizard Point in Cornwall, according to Moll, is  $50^{\circ}$  north, and at the head-land at Caithness in Scotland,  $58^{\circ} 30'$ ; so that, according to the geometrical measure of English statute miles, which is 69 miles and 864 feet to a degree, the length of the island, measured in a direct line, without attending to the hills and winding of the roads, is 587 miles. Its longitude, Teneriffe being the first meridian, is  $9^{\circ} 45'$  at the Land's-End in Cornwall, and at the South Foreland in Kent,  $17^{\circ} 15'$ . Now every degree of longitude in this latitude being about 38 statute miles, the breadth therefore between these two extremities will be 285 miles.

As an island, this country has some peculiar natural advantages and disadvantages: it is subject to perpetual varieties of heat and cold, wet and dry; but the heats in summer, and the colds in winter, are more temperate than in any part of the Continent that lies in the same latitude: the harbours in Holland, Germany, and Denmark, are blocked up

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## 2 AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONSTITUTION, &c.

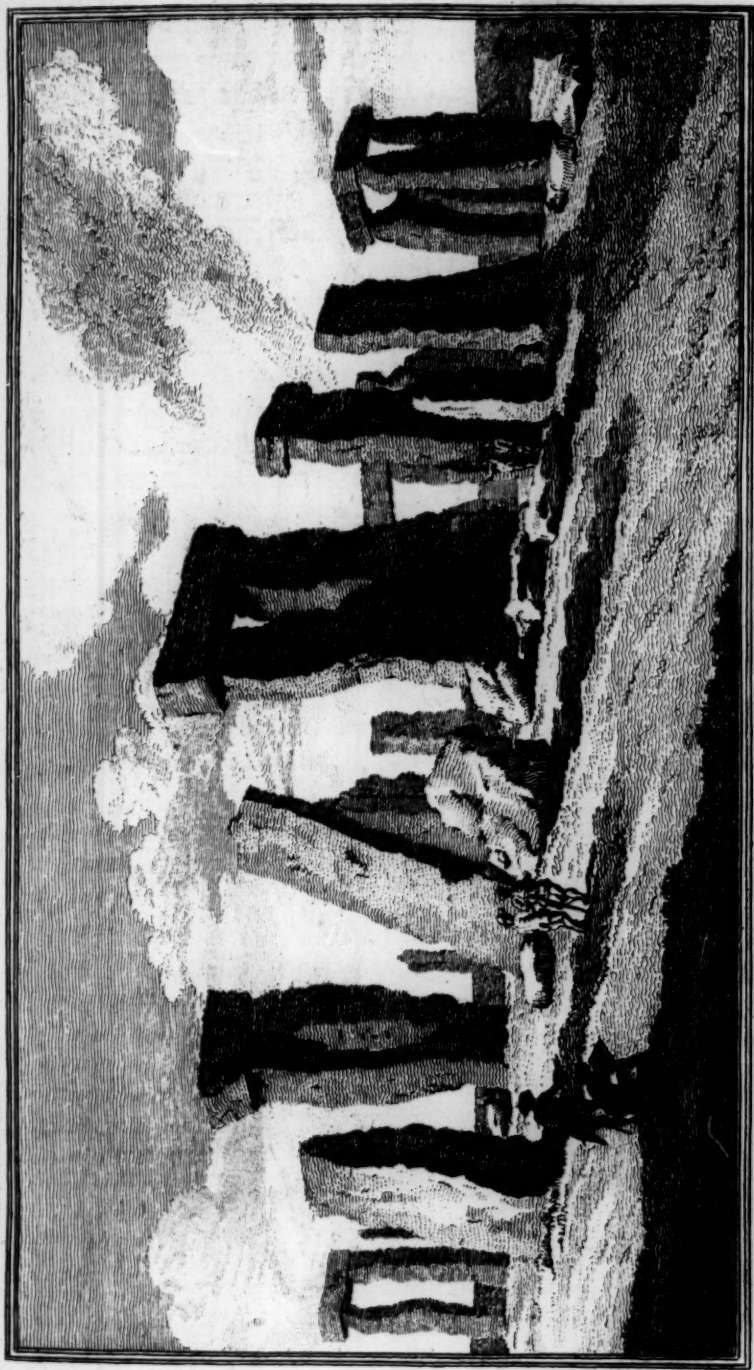
with ice, while ours, which lie in the same latitude, are open. To this moderation of the climate is attributed the long lives of many of the inhabitants; and to the same cause is owing that almost perpetual verdure, in a manner peculiar to this country; which in the summer is frequently refreshed by seasonable showers, and by the warm vapours of the sea, in winter, is generally secured from any long continuance of frost and snow.

This happy situation of our island can never be sufficiently valued, as it renders Great Britain a world, as it were, within itself, intirely independent of other nations; and furnishes her with all the necessaries of life, in such abundance, as enables her to supply other nations.

That part of Great Britain which lies toward the Western Ocean, is mountainous, as Cornwall, Wales, and Cumberland; likewise some of the interior counties, as part of Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Westmorland, Northumberland, and near one half of Scotland. The eastern and southern parts of the country, chiefly consist of little fruitful hills and vallies, champaign fields, inclosed grounds of arable, pasture, and meadow lands; agreeably intermixed with wood and water; and being much inclosed and cultivated, it abounds with prospects that in beauty can scarcely be exceeded, even by the fictions of imagination.

It has on all sides very convenient harbours, and many extensive navigable rivers, that convey the riches of all the nations of the known world into the very centre of the kingdom. The most considerable rivers in England are the Thames, Severn, and Humber; in Scotland, the Forth, Clyde, and Tay.

Various are the names by which this island hath been known, and as different are the reasons assigned for them. It was called Albion by the Greeks, Britanica by the Phoenicians, and Brittannia by the Romans,



See page 100.

*STONE HENGE, a celebrated Monument of the Druids on Salisbury Plains.*



mans, who distinguished that part, now the Highlands of Scotland, by the name of Caledonia.

The inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland, according to some calculations, so late as the year 1758; allowing six persons to each house, are computed at eight millions; viz. in England and Wales 5,700,000; in Scotland 1,300,000; and in Ireland 1,000,000; to these may be added near 2,000,000 supposed to be in the British settlements in Asia, Africa, and America.

With respect to the persons and character of the English, they are generally of a strong active make, well shaped, and of good stature. They are industrious, lovers of the liberal arts, and capable of carrying them to the greatest perfection. They are neither so heavy as the Germans, nor so exceedingly mercurial as the French; but are observed to be generally open and blunt in their behaviour, and particularly averse to servility and cringing. Their good nature, generosity and humanity, have been frequently shewn to their enemies, in such a manner as to do honour even to human nature. The lenity of their laws in capital cases; their compassion for convicted criminals; even the general humanity of highwaymen and robbers of this nation, compared with those of other countries; are all convincing proofs that the spirit of humanity is natural to them. The many noble foundations for the relief of the miserable and the friendless; the large annual supplies from voluntary charities to these foundations, and on every other occasion where their benevolence is solicited, are also striking proofs of true goodness of heart and greatness of soul, for which this nation has been always distinguished.

In point of courage no people exceed, and very few equal the English; who are remarkable for this particular, that no people shew a more resolute obstinacy in battle, though under the greatest disadvantages. Their valour and bravery, both by sea and  
land,



#### 4 AN ACCOUNT of the CONSTITUTION, &c.

land, hath been so frequently exerted in many parts of the world, that the most formidable kingdoms have been constrained to yield to the superior force of their arms: so that Great Britain, at this time, by their courage and prudence, gives liberty to Europe, and has acquired an extent of territory equal to the Roman empire when in its meridian of power, and infinitely more useful to the mother country.

The women, beside their natural beauty, which is such as not to need the assistance of paint, so common in other countries, are still more to be valued for their prudent behaviour, thorough cleanliness, and a tender affection for their husbands and children. As to the faults of the English; foreigners have remarked that they are somewhat passionate, melancholy, fickle and unsteady; one moment applauding, what they detest in the next; and that the lower sort of people have too contemptible an idea of other nations; and are thence apt to treat strangers with rudeness. But this latter accusation seems rather to have been founded on particular instances, which a great relish for, and propensity to humour, so observable among the common people, may sometimes betray them into; than to belong to them as a national character.

#### Of the GOVERNMENT and CIVIL POLICY of BRITAIN.

In all states there is an absolute supreme power, to which the right of legislation belongs; and which, by the singular constitution of these kingdoms, is vested in the king, lords, and commons.

##### *Of the King.*

The supreme executive power of Great Britain, and Ireland, is vested by our constitution in a single person, king or queen; for it is indifferent to  
which

which sex the crown descends: the person entitled to it, whether male or female, is immediately invested with all the ensigns, rights, and prerogatives of sovereign power.

The grand fundamental maxim upon which the right of succession to the throne of these kingdoms depends, is: "that the crown, by common law and constitutional custom, is hereditary; and this in a manner peculiar to itself: but that the right of inheritance may from time to time be changed or limited by act of parliament: under which limitations the crown still continues hereditary."

King Egbert, king Canute, and king William I. have been successively constituted the common stocks, or ancestors, of this descent.

On the death of queen Elizabeth, without issue, the line of Henry VIII. became extinct. It therefore became necessary to recur to the other issue of Henry VII. by Elizabeth of York his queen: whose eldest daughter Margaret having married James IV. king of Scotland, king James the Sixth of Scotland, and of England the First, was the lineal descendant from that alliance. So that in his person, as clearly as in Henry VIII. centered all the claims of the different competitors from the conquest downward; he being indisputably the lineal heir of the conqueror. And, what is still more remarkable, in his person also centered the right of the Saxon monarchs, which had been suspended from the conquest till his accession. For, Margaret the sister of Edgar Atheling, the daughter of Edward the Outlaw, and granddaughter of king Edmund Ironside, was the person in whom the hereditary right of the Saxon kings, supposing it not abolished by the conquest, resided. She married Malcolm king of Scotland; and Henry II. by a descent from Matilda their daughter, is generally called the restorer of the Saxon line. But it must be remembered, that Malcolm by his Saxon queen had sons as well as daughters; and that the

## 6 An Account of the CONSTITUTION, &c.

royal family of Scotland, from that time downward, were the offspring of Malcolm and Margaret. Of this royal family king James I. was the direct lineal descendant; and therefore united in his person every possible claim, by hereditary right, to the English as well as Scottish throne, being the heir both of Egbert and William the Conqueror.

At the revolution, the convention of estates, or representative body of the nation, declared, that the misconduct of king James II. amounted to an abdication of the government, and that the throne was thereby vacant.

In consequence of this vacancy, and from a regard to the ancient line, the convention appointed the next Protestant heirs of the blood royal of king Charles I. to fill the vacant throne, in the old order of succession; with a temporary exception, or preference, to the person of king William III.

On the impending failure of the Protestant line of King Charles I. (whereby the throne might again have become vacant) the king and parliament extended the settlement of the crown to the Protestant line of King James I. viz. to the princess Sophia of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants: and she is now the common stock, from whom the heirs of the crown must descend.

The true ground and principle, upon which the revolution proceeded, was an entirely new case in politics, which had never before happened in our history; the abdication of the reigning monarch, and the vacancy of the throne thereupon. It was not a defeazance of the right of succession, and a new limitation of the crown, by the king and both houses of parliament: it was the act of the nation alone, upon a conviction that there was no king in being. For in a full assembly of the lords and commons, met in convention upon the supposition of this vacancy, both houses came to this resolution; " that

“ that king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract between king and people; and, by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws; and having withdrawn himself out of this kingdom; has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant.” Thus ended at once, by this sudden and unexpected vacancy of the throne, the old line of succession; which from the conquest had lasted above 600 years, and from the union of the heptarchy in king Egbert, almost 900.

Though in some points (owing to the peculiar circumstances of things and persons) the revolution was not altogether so perfect as might have been wished; yet from thence a new æra commenced, in which the bounds of prerogative and liberty have been better defined, the principles of government more thoroughly examined and understood, and the rights of the subject more explicitly guarded by legal provisions, than in any other period of the English history. In particular, it is worthy observation, that the convention, in this their judgment, avoided with great wisdom the wild extreams into which the visionary theories of some zealous republicans would have led them. They held that this misconduct of king James amounted to an endeavour to subvert the constitution, and not to an actual subversion, or total dissolution of the government. They therefore very prudently voted it to amount to no more than an abdication of the government, and a consequent vacancy of the throne; whereby the government was allowed to subsist, though the executive magistrate was gone; and the kingly office to remain, though king James was no longer king. And thus the constitution was kept intire; which upon every sound principle of government must otherwise have fallen to pieces, had so principal and constituent a



## 8 An ACCOUNT of the CONSTITUTION, &c.

part as the royal authority been abolished, or even suspended \*.

Hence it is easy to collect, that the title to the crown is at present hereditary, though not quite so absolutely hereditary as formerly; and the common stock or ancestor, from whom the descent must be derived, is also different. Formerly the common stock was king Egbert; then William the Conqueror; afterward in James the First's time the two common stocks united, and so continued till the vacancy of the throne in 1688: now it is the princess Sophia, in whom the inheritance was vested by the new king and parliament. Formerly the descent was absolute, and the crown went to the next heir without any re-

\* The constitution of England, says Dr. Smollet, had now assumed a new aspect. The maxim of hereditary, indefeasible right, was at length renounced by a free parliament. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. Allegiance and protection were declared reciprocal ties depending upon each other. The representatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their constituents; and William III. ascended the throne in consequence of an express capitulation with the people. Yet, on this occasion, the parliament, toward their deliverer, seems to have overshot their attachment to their own liberty and privileges: or, at least, they neglected the fairest opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench those prerogatives of the crown to which they imputed all the late and former calamities of the kingdom. Their new monarch retained the old regal power over parliaments, in its full extent: he was at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure: he was enabled to influence elections, and oppress corporations: he possessed the right of choosing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of the state, and of the household, of the army, the navy, and the church. He reserved the absolute command of the militia: so that he remained master of all the instruments and engines of corruption and violence, without any other restraint than his own moderation, and prudent regard to the claim of rights and principle of resistance on which the revolution was founded. In a word, the settlement was finished with some precipitation, before the plan had been properly digested and matured; and this will be the case in every establishment, formed upon a sudden emergency in the face of opposition.

striction:

striction: but now, upon the new settlement, the inheritance is conditional; being limited to such heirs only, of the body of the princess Sophia, as are Protestant members of the church of England, and are married to none but Protestants.

And in this due medium consists the true constitutional notion of the right of succession to the imperial crown of these kingdoms. The extremes, between which it steers, are each of them equally destructive of those ends for which societies were formed and are kept on foot. Where the magistrate, upon every succession, is elected by the people, and may by the express provision of the laws be deposed (if not punished) by his subjects, this may sound like the perfection of liberty, and look well enough when delineated on paper; but in practice will be ever productive of tumult, contention, and anarchy. And, on the other hand, divine indefeasible hereditary right, when coupled with the doctrine of unlimited passive obedience, is surely of all constitutions the most thoroughly slavish and dreadful. But when such an hereditary right, as our laws have created and vested in the royal stock, is closely interwoven with those liberties, which are equally the inheritance of the subject; this union will form a constitution, in theory the most beautiful of any, in practice the most approved, and, in all probability, will prove in duration the most permanent. This constitution, it is the duty of every good Englishman to understand, to revere, and to defend.

The principal duties of the king are expressed in his oath at the coronation, which is administered by one of the archbishops, or bishops of the realm, in the presence of all the people; who on their parts do reciprocally take the oath of allegiance to the crown. This coronation oath is conceived in the following terms:

“ *The archbishop or bishop shall say,* Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people  
“ of

10 AN ACCOUNT of the CONSTITUTION, &c.

“ of this kingdom of England, and the dominions  
 “ thereunto belonging, according to the statutes in  
 “ parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs  
 “ of the same?—*The king or queen shall say, I*  
 “ solemnly promise so to do.

“ *Archbishop or bishop.* Will you to your power  
 “ cause law and justice, in mercy, to be executed in  
 “ all your judgments?—*King or queen.* I will.

“ *Archbishop or bishop.* Will you to the utmost of  
 “ your power maintain the laws of God, the true  
 “ profession of the gospel, and the Protestant re-  
 “ formed religion established by the law? And will  
 “ you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this  
 “ realm, and to the churches committed to their  
 “ charge, all such rights and privileges as by law  
 “ do or shall appertain unto them, or any of them?  
 “ —*King or queen.* All this I promise to do.

“ *After this the king or queen, laying his or her hand*  
 “ *upon the holy gospels, shall say, The things which*  
 “ *I have here before promised I will perform and*  
 “ *keep: so help me God. And then shall kiss the*  
 “ *book.*”

This is the form of the coronation oath, as it is now prescribed by our laws: and we may observe, that in the king's part in this original contract, are expressed all the duties that a monarch can owe to his people; viz. to govern according to law: to execute judgment in mercy: and to maintain the established religion. With respect to the latter of these three branches, we may farther remark, that by the act of union, 5 Ann. c. 8. two preceding statutes are recited and confirmed; the one of the parliament of Scotland, the other of the parliament of England: which enact; the former, that every king at his accession shall take and subscribe an oath, to preserve the Protestant religion and Presbyterian church government in Scotland; the latter, that at his coronation he shall take and subscribe a similar oath, to preserve the settlement of the church of  
 England

England within England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick, and the territories thereunto belonging.

The king of Great Britain, notwithstanding the limitations or the power of the crown, already mentioned, is one of the greatest monarchs reigning over a free people. His person is sacred in the eye of the law, which makes it high treason so much as to imagine or intend his death; neither can he, in himself, be deemed guilty of any crime, the law taking no cognizance of his actions, but only in the persons of his ministers, if they infringe the laws of the land. As to his power, it has no bounds, (except where it breaks in upon the liberty and property of his subjects, as in making new laws, or raising new taxes) for he can make war or peace; send and receive ambassadors; make treaties of league and commerce; levy armies, fit out fleets, employ them as he thinks proper; grant commissions to his officers both by sea and land, or revoke them at pleasure; dispose of all magazines, castles, &c. summon the parliament to meet, and, when met, adjourn, prorogue, or dissolve it at pleasure; refuse his assent to any bill, though it hath passed both houses; which, consequently, by such a refusal, has no more force than if it had never been moved. He possesseth the right of chusing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of state, of the household, and the church; and, in fine, is the fountain of honour, from whom all degrees of nobility and knighthood are derived. Such is the dignity and power of a king of Great Britain.

*Of the Parliament.*

Parliaments, in some shape, are of as high antiquity as the Saxon government in this island; and have subsisted, in their present form, at least five hundred years.

The parliament is assembled by the king's writs, and it's sitting must not be intermitted above three  
4 years.



years. Its constituent parts are, the king sitting there in his royal political capacity, and the three estates of the realm; the lords spiritual, the lords temporal, (who sit, together with the king, in one house) and the commons, who sit by themselves in another. The king and these three estates, together, form the great corporation or body politic of the kingdom, of which the king is said to be *caput, principium, et finis*. For upon their coming together the king meets them, either in person or by representation; without which there can be no beginning of a parliament; and he also has alone the power of dissolving them.

It is highly necessary for preserving the balance of the constitution, that the executive power should be a branch, though not the whole, of the legislature. The crown cannot begin of itself any alterations in the present established law; but it may approve or disapprove of the alterations suggested and consented to by the two houses. The legislative therefore cannot abridge the executive power of any rights which it now has by law, without it's own consent: since the law must perpetually stand as it now does, unless all the powers will agree to alter it. And herein indeed consists the true excellence of the English government, that all the parts of it form a mutual check upon each other. In the legislature, the people are a check upon the nobility, and the nobility a check upon the people; by the mutual privilege of rejecting what the other has resolved: while the king is a check upon both, which preserves the executive power from encroachments.

The lords spiritual consist of two archbishops and twenty-four bishops. The lords temporal consist of all the peers of the realm, the bishops not being in strictness held to be such, but meerly lords of parliament. Some of these sit by descent, as do all antient peers; some by creation, as do all the new-made ones; others, since the union with Scotland, by election, which is the case of the sixteen peers, who represent



represent the body of the Scots nobility. Their number is indefinite, and may be encreased at will by the power of the crown.

A body of nobility is more peculiarly necessary in our mixed and compounded constitution, in order to support the rights of both the crown and the people; by forming a barrier to withstand the encroachments of both. It creates and preserves that gradual scale of dignity, which proceeds from the peasant to the prince; rising like a pyramid from a broad foundation, and diminishing to a point as it rises. The nobility therefore are the pillars, which are reared from among the people, more immediately to support the throne; and if that falls, they must also be buried under it's ruins. Accordingly, when in the last century the commons had determined to extirpate monarchy, they also voted the house of lords to be useless and dangerous.

The commons consist of all such men of any property in the kingdom, as have not seats in the house of lords; every one of which has a voice in parliament, either personally, or by his representatives. In a free state, every man, who is supposed a free agent, ought to be, in some measure, his own governor; and therefore a branch at least of the legislative power should reside in the whole body of the people. In so large a state as ours, it is very wisely contrived, that the people should do that by their representatives, which it is impracticable to perform in person: representatives, chosen by a number of minute and separate districts, wherein all the voters are, or easily may be, distinguished. The counties are therefore represented by knights, elected by the proprietors of lands; the cities and boroughs are represented by citizens and burghesses, chosen by the mercantile part or supposed trading interest of the nation. The number of English representatives is 513, and of Scots 45; in all 558. And every member, though chosen by one particular district, when elected and

returned, serves for the whole realm. For the end of his coming thither is not particular, but general; not barely to advantage his constituents, but the common wealth, and to advise his majesty, as appears from the writ of summons.

These are the constituent parts of a parliament, the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons. Parts, of which each is so necessary, that the consent of all three is required to make any new law that should bind the subject. Whatever is enacted for law by one, or by two only, of the three, is no statute; and to it no regard is due, unless in matters relating to their own privileges.

The power and jurisdiction of parliament, says Sir Edward Coke, is so transcendent and absolute, that it cannot be confined, either for causes or persons, within any bounds. It hath sovereign and uncontrollable authority in making, confirming, enlarging, restraining, abrogating, repealing, reviving, and expounding of laws, concerning matters of all possible denominations, ecclesiastical, or temporal, civil, military, maritime, or criminal: this being the place where that absolute despotic power, which must in all governments reside somewhere, is entrusted by the constitution of these kingdoms. All mischiefs and grievances, operations and remedies, that transcend the ordinary course of the laws, are within the reach of this extraordinary tribunal. It can regulate or new model the succession to the crown; as was done in the reign of Henry VIII. and William III. It can alter the established religion of the land; as was done in a variety of instances, in the reigns of king Henry VIII. and his three children. It can change and create afresh even the constitution of the kingdom and of parliaments themselves; as was done by the act of union, and the several statutes for triennial and septennial elections. It can, in short, do every thing that is not naturally impossible; and therefore some have not scrupled to call it's power, by a figure rather

rather too bold, the omnipotence of parliament. True it is, that what the parliament doth, no authority upon earth can undo. So that it is a matter most essential to the liberties of this kingdom, that such members be delegated to this important trust, as are most eminent for their probity, their fortitude, and their knowlege; for it was a known apothegm of the great lord treasurer Burleigh, "that England" "could never be ruined but by a parliament:" and, as Sir Matthew Hale observes, this being the highest and greatest court, over which none other can have jurisdiction in the kingdom, if by any means a misgovernment should any way fall upon it, the subjects of this kingdom are left without all manner of remedy.

In order to prevent the mischiefs that might arise, by placing this extensive authority in hands that are either incapable, or else improper, to manage it, it is provided that no one shall sit or vote in either house of parliament, unless he be twenty-one years of age. To prevent innovations in religion and government, it is enacted, that no member shall vote or sit in either house, till he hath in the presence of the house taken the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration; and subscribed and repeated the declaration against transubstantiation, the invocation of saints, and the sacrifice of the mass. To prevent dangers that may arise to the kingdom from foreign attachments, connexions, or dependencies, it is enacted, that no alien, born out of the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, even though he be naturalized, shall be capable of being a member of either house of parliament.

Some of the more notorious privileges of the members of either house are, privilege of speech, of person, of their domestics, and of their lands and goods. As to the first, privilege of speech, it is declared by the statute of 1 W. & M. st. 2. c. 2. as one of the liberties of the people, "that the freedom of  
" speech,

“ speech, and debates, and proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament.” And this freedom of speech is particularly demanded of the king in person, by the speaker of the house of commons, at the opening of every new parliament. So likewise are the other privileges, of person, servants, lands and goods. This includes not only privilege from illegal violence, but also from legal arrests, and seizures by process from the courts of law. To assault by violence a member of either house, or his menial servants, is a high contempt of parliament, and there punished with the utmost severity. Neither can any member of either house be arrested and taken into custody, nor served with any process of the courts of law; nor can his menial servants be arrested; nor can any entry be made on his lands; nor can his goods be distrained or seized; without a breach of the privilege of parliament.

These privileges however, which derogate from the common law, being only indulged to prevent the members being diverted from the public business, endure no longer than the session of parliament, save only as to the freedom of his person: which in a peer is for ever sacred and inviolable; and in a commoner for forty days after every prorogation, and forty days before the next appointed meeting; which is now in effect as long as the parliament subsists, it seldom being prorogued for more than fourscore days at a time. As to all other privileges which obstruct the ordinary course of justice, they cease immediately after the dissolution or prorogation of the parliament, or adjournment of the houses for above a fortnight: and during these recesses a peer, or member of the house of commons, may be sued like an ordinary subject, and in consequence of such suits may be dispossessed of his lands and goods. Likewise, for the benefit of commerce, it is provided, that any trader, having privilege of parliament, may be served with

legal



legal process for any just debt, to the amount of 100*l.* and unless he makes satisfaction within two months, it shall be deemed an act of bankruptcy; and that commissions of bankrupt may be issued against such privileged traders, in like manner as against any other.

The house of lords have a right to be attended, and consequently are, by the judges of the court of king's bench and common-pleas, and such of the barons of the exchequer as are of the degree of the coif, or have been made serjeants at law; as likewise by the masters of the court of chancery; for their advice in point of law, and for the greater dignity of their proceedings.

The speaker of the house of lords is generally the lord chancellor, or lord-keeper of the great seal, which dignities are commonly vested in the same person.

Each peer has a right, by leave of the house, when a vote passes contrary to his sentiments, to enter his dissent on the journals of the house, with the reasons for such dissent; which is usually stiled his protest.

The house of commons may be properly stiled the grand inquest of Great Britain, impowered to enquire into all national grievances, in order to see them redressed.

The peculiar laws and customs of the house of commons relate principally to the raising of taxes, and the elections of members to serve in parliament.

With regard to taxes: it is the antient indisputable privilege and right of the house of commons, that all grants of subsidies or parliamentary aids do begin in their house, and are first bestowed by them; altho' their grants are not effectual to all intents and purposes, until they have the assent of the other two branches of the legislature. The general reason, given for this exclusive privilege of the house of commons, is, that the supplies are raised upon the body of the people, and therefore it is proper that they



alone should have the right of taxing themselves. And so reasonably jealous are the commons of this privilege; that herein they will not suffer the other house to exert any power but that of rejecting; they will not permit the least alteration or amendment to be made by the lords to the mode of taxing the people by a money bill. Under this appellation are included all bills, by which money is directed to be raised upon the subject, for any purpose or in any shape whatsoever; either for the exigencies of government, and collected from the kingdom in general, as the land tax; or for private benefit, and collected in any particular district, as by turnpikes, parish rates, and the like.

The method of making laws is much the same in both houses. In each house the act of the majority binds the whole: and this majority is declared by votes openly and publicly given: not as at Venice, and many other senatorial assemblies, privately or by ballot. This latter method may be serviceable, to prevent intrigues and unconstitutional combinations: but is impossible to be practised with us; at least in the house of commons, where every member's conduct is subject to the future censure of his constituents, and therefore should be openly submitted to their inspection.

To bring a bill into the house of commons, if the relief sought by it is of a private nature, it is first necessary to prefer a petition; which must be presented by a member, and usually sets forth the grievance desired to be remedied. This petition (when founded on facts that may be in their nature disputed) is referred to a committee of members, who examine the matter alleged, and accordingly report it to the house; and then (or, otherwise, upon the meet petition) leave is given to bring in the bill. In public matters the bill is brought in upon motion made to the house, without any petition. (In the house of lords, if the bill begins there, it is, when of a private nature, referred

to two of the judges, to examine and report the state of the facts alleged, to see that all necessary parties consent, and to settle all points of technical propriety.) This is read a first time, and at a convenient distance a second time; and after each reading the speaker opens to the house the substance of the bill, and puts the question, whether it shall proceed any farther. The introduction of the bill may be originally opposed, as the bill itself may at either of the readings; and, if the opposition succeeds, the bill must be dropt for that session; as it must also, if opposed with success in any of the subsequent stages.

After the second reading it is committed, that is, referred to a committee; which is either selected by the house in matters of small importance, or else, upon a bill of consequence, the house resolves itself into a committee of the whole house. A committee of the whole house is composed of every member; and, to form it, the speaker quits the chair, (another member being appointed chairman) and may sit and debate as a private member. In these committees the bill is debated clause by clause, amendments made, the blanks filled up, and sometimes the bill entirely new modelled. After it has gone through the committee, the chairman reports it to the house with such amendments as the committee have made; and then the house reconsider the whole bill again, and the question is repeatedly put upon every clause and amendment. When the house have agreed or disagreed to the amendments of the committee, and sometimes added new amendments of their own, the bill is then ordered to be engrossed, or written in a strong gross hand, on one or more long rolls of parchments sewed together. When this is finished, it is read a third time, and amendments are sometimes then made to it; and, if a new clause be added, it is done by tacking a separate piece of parchment on the bill, which is called a ryder. The speaker then again opens the contents; and, holding it up

in his hands, puts the question, whether the bill shall pass. If this is agreed to, the title to it is then settled. After this, one of the members is directed to carry it to the lords, and desire their concurrence; who attended by several more, carries it to the bar of the house of peers, and there delivers it to their speaker, who comes down from his woolstack to receive it. It there passes through the forms as in the other house. (except engrossing, which is already done) and, if rejected, no more notice is taken, but it passes *sub silentio*, to prevent unbecoming altercations. But if it is agreed to, the lords send a message by two masters in chancery (or sometimes two of the judges) that they have agreed to the same: and the bill remains with the lords, if they have made no amendment to it. But if any amendments are made, such amendments are sent down with the bill to receive the concurrence of the commons. If the commons disagree to the amendments, a conference usually follows between members deputed from each house; who for the most part settle and adjust the difference: but, if both houses remain inflexible, the bill is dropped. If the commons agree to the amendments, the bill is sent back to the lords by one of the members, with a message to acquaint them therewith. The same forms are observed, *mutatis mutandis*, when the bill begins in the house of lords. But, when an act of grace or pardon is passed, it is first signed by his majesty, and then read once only in each of the houses, without any new engrossing or amendment. And when both houses have done with any bill, it always is deposited in the house of peers, to wait the royal assent; except in the case of a money-bill, which after receiving the concurrence of the lords is sent back to the house of commons.

The royal assent may be given two ways: 1. In person: when the king comes to the house of peers, in his crown and royal robes, and sending for the commons to the bar, the titles of all the bills that have

have passed both houses are read; and the king's answer is declared by the clerk of the parliament in Norman-French: a badge, it must be owned, (now the only one remaining) of conquest; and which one could wish to see fall into total oblivion; unless it be reserved as a solemn *memento* to remind us that our liberties are mortal, having once been destroyed by a foreign force. If the king consents to a public bill, the clerk usually declares, *le roy le veut*, "the king wills it so to be;" if to a private bill, *soit fait come il est desire*, "be it as it is desired." If the king refuses his assent, it is in the gentle language of *le roy s'avisera*, "the king will advise upon it." When a money-bill is passed, it is carried up and presented to the king by the speaker of the house of commons, and the royal assent is thus expressed, *le roy remercie ses loyal subjects, accepte leur benevolence, et aussi le veut*, "the king thanks his loyal subjects, accepts their benevolence, and wills it so to be." In case of an act of grace, which originally proceeds from the crown, and has the royal assent in the first stage of it, the clerk of the parliament thus pronounces the gratitude of the subject; *les prelates, seigneurs, et commons, en ce present parliament assemblees, au nom de tous vous autres subjects, remercient tres humblement votre majeste, et prient a Dieu vous donner en sante bone vie et longue*; "the prelates, lords, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, in the name of all your other subjects, most humbly thank your majesty, and pray to God to grant you in health and wealth long to live."

2. By the statute 33 Hen. VIII. c. 21. the king may give his assent by letters patent under his great seal, signed with his hand, and notified, in his absence, to both houses assembled together in the high house. And, when the bill has received the royal assent in either of these ways, it is then, and not before, a statute or act of parliament.

This statute or act is placed among the records of the kingdom; there needing no formal promulgation



to give it the force of a law, as was necessary by the civil law with regard to the emperors edicts: because every man in England is, in judgment of law, party to the making of an act of parliament, being present thereat by his representatives. However, a copy thereof is usually printed at the king's press, for the information of the whole land.

An act of parliament, thus made, is the exercise of the highest authority that this kingdom acknowledges upon earth. It hath power to bind every subject in the land, and the dominions thereunto belonging; nay, even the king himself, if particularly named therein. And it cannot be altered, amended, dispensed with, suspended, or repealed, but in the same forms and by the same authority of parliament: for it is a maxim in law, that it requires the same strength to dissolve, as to create an obligation.

Such is the parliament of Great Britain; the source and guardian of our liberties and properties, the strong cement which binds the foundation and superstructure of our government, and the wisely concerted balance maintaining an equal poise, that no one part of the three estates overpower or distress either of the other.

Privy counsellors are made by the king's nomination, without either patent or grant; and, on taking the necessary oaths, they become immediately privy counsellors during the life of the king that chooses them, but subject to removal at his discretion.

The duty of a privy counsellor appears from the oath of office, which consists of seven articles: 1. To advise the king according to the best of his cunning and discretion. 2. To advise for the king's honour and good of the public, without partiality through affection, love, meed, doubt, or dread. 3. To keep the king's counsel secret. 4. To avoid corruption. 5. To help and strengthen the execution of what shall be there resolved. 6. To withstand all persons who would attempt the contrary. And, lastly, in general,



general, 7. To observe, keep, and do all that a good and true counsellor ought to do to his sovereign lord.

The two principal secretaries of state (one of whom is generally present whenever the council is held) are entrusted with the custody of the king's signet. They jointly transact the king's affairs relating to Great Britain; but as to those concerning foreign nations, they are divided between them; the eldest secretary having the southern province, containing Flanders, France, &c. assigned to his management; and the younger secretary manages the northern province, containing such nations as lie north of those already mentioned.

*Of the Courts of Law, &c.*

The court of Chancery, which is a court of equity, is next in dignity to the high court of parliament, and is designed to relieve the subject against frauds, breaches of trust, and other oppressions; and to mitigate the rigour of the law. The lord high chancellor sits as sole judge, and in his absence the master of the Rolls. The form of proceeding is by bills, answers, and decrees, the witnesses being examined in private: however, the decrees of this court are only binding to the persons of those concerned in them, for they do not affect their lands and goods; and consequently, if a man refuses to comply with the terms, they can do nothing more than send him to the prison of the Fleet. This court is always open; and if a man be sent to prison, the lord chancellor, in any vacation, can, if he sees reason for it, grant a *habeas corpus*.

The clerk of the crown likewise belongs to this court, being obliged, or by his deputy, always to attend on the lord chancellor as often as he sits for the dispatch of business; through his hands pass all writs for summoning the parliament or choosing of members, commissions of the peace, pardons, &c.

The King's Bench, so called either from the kings of England sometimes sitting there in person, or be-

cause all matters determinable at common law between the king and the subject, are here tried; except such affairs as properly belong to the court of Exchequer. This court is, likewise, a kind of cheque upon all the inferior courts, their judges and justices of the peace. Here preside four judges, the first of whom is stiled lord chief justice of the king's bench, or by way of eminence, lord chief justice of England, to express the great extent of his jurisdiction over the kingdom: for this court can grant prohibitions in any cause depending either in spiritual or temporal courts; and the house of peers does often direct the lord chief justice to issue out his warrant for apprehending persons under the suspicion of high crimes. The other three judges are called justices, or judges, of the king's bench.

The court of Common Pleas takes cognizance of all pleas debateable between subject and subject; and in it, beside all real actions, fines and recoveries are transacted, and prohibitions are likewise issued out of it, as well as from the King's Bench. The first judge of this court is stiled lord chief justice of the common pleas, or common bench; beside whom there are likewise three other judges, or justices, of this court. None but serjeants at law are allowed to plead here.

The court of Exchequer was instituted for managing the revenues of the crown, and has a power of judging both according to law and according to equity. In the proceedings according to law, the lord chief baron of the Exchequer, and three other barons, preside as judges. They are stiled barons, because formerly none but barons of the realm were allowed to be judges in this court. Beside these, there is a fifth called cursor baron, who has not a judicial capacity, but is only employed in administering the oath to sheriffs and their officers, and also to several of the officers of the Custom-house.—But when this court proceeds according to equity, then the lord treasurer and the chancellor of the Exchequer preside, assisted by the other barons. All matters touching the king's

trea-

treasury, revenue, customs, and fines, are here tried and determined. — Beside the officers already mentioned, there belong to the Exchequer, the king's remembrancer, who takes and states all accounts of the revenue, customs, excise, parliamentary aids and subsidies, &c. except the accounts of the sheriffs and their officers. The lord treasurer's remembrancer, whose business it is to make out processes against sheriffs, receivers of the revenue, &c.

For putting the laws effectually in execution, an high sheriff is annually appointed for every county (except Westmorland and Cumberland) by the king; whose office is both ministerial and judicial. He is to execute the king's mandates, and all writs directed to him out of the king's courts of justice; to impanel juries, to bring causes and malefactors to trial, to see the sentences both in civil and criminal affairs, executed. And at the assize to attend on the judges, and guard them all the time they are in his county. It is also part of his office to collect all public fines, distresses, and amerciaments, into the Exchequer, or where the king shall appoint, and to make such payments out of them as his majesty shall think proper.

As his office is judicial, he keeps a court, called the county court, which is held by the sheriff, or his under-sheriffs, to hear and determine all civil causes in the county under forty shillings; this however is no court of record; but the court, formerly called the sheriff's turn, was one; and the king's leet, thro' all the county: for in this court, enquiry was made into all criminal offences against the common law, where by the statute law there was no restraint. This court, however, has been long since abolished.

Under the sheriff are various officers, as the under-sheriff, clerks, stewards of courts, bailiffs, (in London called serjeants) constables, gaolers, beadles, &c.

The next officer to the sheriff, is the justice of peace, several of whom are commissioned for each county: and to them is intrusted the power of putting great part of the statute law in execution in relation

nion to the highways, the poor, vagrants, treasons, felonies, riots, the preservation of the game, &c. &c. and they examine and commit to prison all who break or disturb the peace, and disquiet the king's subjects. In order to punish the offenders, they meet every quarter at the county-town, when a jury of 12 men, called the grand inquest of the county, is summoned to appear. This jury, upon oath, is to enquire into the cases of all delinquents, and to present them by bill guilty of the indictment, or not guilty: the justices commit the former to gaol for their trial at the next assizes, and the latter are acquitted. This is called the quarter-sessions for the county. The justice of peace ought to be a person of great good sense, sagacity, and integrity, and to be not without some knowledge of the law; for as much power is lodged in his hands, and as nothing is so intoxicating, without these qualifications he will be apt to make mistakes, and to step beyond his authority, for which he is liable to be called to an account at the court of king's bench.

There are also in each county two coroners, who are to enquire by a jury of neighbours, how and by whom any person came by a violent death, and to enter it on record as a plea of the crown.

The civil government of cities is a kind of small independent policy of itself; for every city hath, by charter from the king, a jurisdiction within itself to judge in all matters civil and criminal; with this restraint only, that all civil causes may be removed from their courts to the higher courts at Westminster; and all offences that are capital, are committed to the judge of the assize. They are constituted with a mayor, aldermen, and burgessees, who together make the corporation of the city, and hold a court of judicature, where the mayor presides as judge. They likewise, when assembled in council, can make laws, called bye-laws, for the government of the city. And here the mayor, aldermen, and common-council resemble the king, lords and commons in parliament.

The



The government of incorporated boroughs is much after the same manner; in some there is a mayor, and in others two bailiffs. All which, during their mayoralty or magistracy, are justices of the peace within their liberties, and consequently esquires.

For the better government of villages, the lords of the soil or manor (who were formerly called barons) have generally a power to hold courts, called courts-leet, and courts baron, where their tenants are obliged to attend and receive justice. The business of courts-leet is chiefly to present and punish nuisances; and at courts baron, the conveyances and alienations of the copyhold tenants are enrolled, and they are admitted to their estates on a descent or purchase.

There are also high constables appointed for the divisions called hundreds, and petty constables in every parish; whose business it is to keep the peace, and in case of quarrels to search for and take up all rioters, felons, &c. and to keep them in the prison or in safe custody, till they can be brought before a justice of the peace; and in this he is assisted by another officer, called the tithing-man. It is likewise the business of these officers to put in execution within their district, all warrants that are brought them from the justice of the peace.

Beside these, there are courts of conscience settled in many parts of England for the relief of the poor, in the recovery or payment of small debts, not exceeding forty shillings.

The rights of individuals are so attentively considered under the British government, that the subject may, without the least danger, sue his sovereign, or those who act in his name, and under his authority; he may do this in open court, where the king may be cast, and be obliged to pay damages to his subject. He cannot take away the liberty of the least individual, unless he has by some illegal act forfeited his right to liberty, or except when the state is in danger, and the representatives of the people think the public safety

safety makes it necessary that he should have the power of confining persons, on a suspicion of guilt: but this power is always given him only for a limited time. The king has a right to pardon, but neither he nor the judges, to whom he delegates his authority, can condemn a man as a criminal, except he be first found guilty, by twelve men, who must be his peers or his equals. That the judges may not be influenced by the king, or his ministers, to misrepresent the case to the jury, they have their salaries for life, and not during the pleasure of their sovereign. Neither can the king take away, or endanger the life of any subject, without trial, and the persons being first chargeable with a capital crime, as treasons, murder, felony, or some other act injurious to society: nor can any subject be deprived of his liberty for the highest crime, till some proof of his guilt be given upon oath before a magistrate; and he has then a right to insist upon his being brought, the first opportunity, to a fair trial, or to be restored to liberty on giving bail for his appearance. If a man is charged with a capital offence, he must not undergo the ignominy of being tried for his life, till the evidences of his guilt are laid before the grand jury of the town or county in which the fact is alleged to be committed, and not without twelve of them agreeing to a bill of indictment against him. If they do this, he is to stand a second trial before twelve other men, whose opinion is definitive. In some cases, the man (who is always supposed innocent till there is sufficient proof of his guilt) is allowed a copy of his indictment, in order to help him to make his defence. He is also furnished with the pannel, or list of the jury, who are his true and proper judges, that he may learn their characters, and discover whether they want abilities, or whether they are prejudiced against him. He may in open court peremptorily object to twenty of the number \*, and to as many more as he can give

\* The party may challenge thirty-five in case of treason.

reason for their not being admitted as his judges; till at last twelve unexceptionable men, the neighbours of the party accused, or living near the place where the supposed fact was committed, are sworn, to give a true verdict according to the evidence produced in court. By challenging the jury, the prisoner prevents all possibility of bribery, or the influence of any superior power: by their living near the place where the fact was committed, they are supposed to be men who know the prisoner's course of life, and the credit of the evidence. These only are the judges, from whose sentence the prisoner is to expect life or death, and upon their integrity and understanding, the lives of all that are brought in danger ultimately depend; and from their judgment there lies no appeal: they are therefore to be all of one mind, and after they have fully heard the evidence, are to be confined without meat, drink, or candle, till they are unanimous in acquitting or condemning the prisoner. Every jurymen is therefore invested with a solemn and awful trust: if he without evidence submits his opinion to that of any of the other jury, or yields in complaisance to the opinion of the judge; if he neglects to examine with the utmost care; if he questions the veracity of the witnesses, who may be of an infamous character; or after the most impartial hearing has the least doubt upon his mind, and yet joins in condemning the person accused; he will wound his own conscience, and bring upon himself the complicated guilt of perjury and murder. The freedom of Englishmen consists in its being out of the power of the judge \* on the bench to injure them, for declaring

\* "Some jurymen, says Mr. Clare, in his *English Liberties*, "may be apt to say, that if we could not find as the judge directs, "we may come into trouble, the judge may fine us, &c. I answer, no judge dares offer any such thing; you are the proper judges of the matters before you, and your souls are at stake; "you ought to act freely, and are not bound, though the court ce-

"mand

ing a man innocent, whom he wishes to be brought in guilty. Was not this the case, juries would be useless; so far from being judges themselves, they would only be the tools of another, whose province it is not to guide, but to give a sanction to their determination. Tyranny might triumph over the lives and liberties of the subject, and the judge on the bench be the minister of the prince's vengeance.

These are the glorious privileges which we enjoy above any other nation upon earth. Juries have always been considered as giving the most effectual check to tyranny; for in a nation like this, where a king can do nothing against law, they are a security that he shall never make the laws, by a bad administration, the instruments of cruelty and oppression. Was it not for juries, the advice given by father Paul, in his maxims of the republic of Venice, might take effect in its fullest latitude. "When the offence  
" is committed by a nobleman against a subject, says  
" he, let all ways be tried to justify him; and if that  
" is not possible to be done, let him be chastised with  
" greater noise than damage. If it be a subject that  
" has affronted a nobleman, let him be punished with  
" the utmost severity, that the subject may not get  
" too great a custom of laying their hands on the  
" patrician order." In short, was it not for juries,

" mand it, to give the reason why you bring it in thus or thus; for  
" you of the grand jury are sworn to the contrary, viz. to keep  
" secret your fellows counsel and your own; and you of the petty  
" jury are no way obliged to declare your motives, for it may not  
" be convenient. In queen Elizabeth's days, a man was arraigned  
" for murder before justice Anderson; the evidence was so strong;  
" that eleven of the twelve were presently for finding him guilty,  
" the twelfth man refused, and kept them so long that they were  
" ready to starve, and at last made them comply with him, and  
" bring in the prisoner not guilty. The judge, who had several  
" times admonished him to join with his fellows, being surpris-  
" ed, sent for him, and discoursed him privately; to whom, upon  
" promise of indemnity, he at last owned, that he himself was the  
" man that did the murder, and the prisoner was innocent, and  
" that he was resolved not to add perjury, and a second murder to  
" the first."



a corrupt nobleman might, whenever he pleased, act the tyrant, while the judge would have that power which is now denied to our kings. But by our happy constitution, which breathes nothing but liberty and equity, all imaginary indulgence is allowed to the meanest; as well as the greatest. When a prisoner is brought to take his trial, he is freed from all bonds; and though the judges are supposed to be counsel for the prisoner, yet, as he may be incapable of vindicating his own cause, other counsel are allowed him; he may try the validity and legality of the indictment, and may set it aside, if it be contrary to law. Nothing is wanting to clear up the cause of innocence, and to prevent the sufferer from sinking under the power of corrupt judges, and the oppression of the great. The racks and tortures that are cruelly made use of in other parts of Europe, to make a man accuse himself, are here unknown, and none punished without conviction, but he who refuses to plead in his own defence.

As the trial of malefactors in England is very different from that of other nations, the following account thereof may be useful to foreigners and others, who have not seen those proceedings.

The court being met, and the prisoner called to the bar, the clerk commands him to hold up his hand, then charges him with the crime of which he is accused, and asks him whether he is *guilty* or *not guilty*. If the prisoner answers *guilty*, his trial is at an end; but if he answers *not guilty*, the court proceeds on the trial, even tho' he may before have confessed the fact: for the law of England takes no notice of such confession; and unless the witnesses, who are upon oath, prove him guilty of the crime, the jury must acquit him, for they are directed to bring in their verdict according to the evidence given in court. If the prisoner refuses to plead, that is, if he will not say in court, whether he is *guilty* or *not guilty*, he is by the law of England to be pressed to death.

When

When the witnesses have given in their evidence, and the prisoner has, by himself or his counsel, cross examined them, the judge recites to the jury the substance of the evidence given against the prisoner, and bids them discharge their conscience; when, if the matter be very clear, they commonly give their verdict without going out of court; and the foreman, for himself and the rest, declares the prisoner *guilty*, or *not guilty*, as it may happen to be. But if any doubt arises among the jury, and the matter requires debate, they all withdraw into a room with a copy of the indictment, where they are locked up, till they are unanimously agreed on the verdict; and if any one of the jury should die during this their confinement, the prisoner will be acquitted.

When the jury have agreed on the verdict, they inform the court thereof by an officer who waits without, and the prisoner is again set to the bar, to hear his verdict. This is unalterable, except in some doubtful cases, when the verdict is brought in special, and is therefore to be determined by the twelve judges of England.

If the prisoner is found guilty, he is then asked what reason he can give why sentence of death should not be passed upon him? If it be the first fault, and his offence be within the statute made for that purpose, he may demand the benefit of the clergy, which saves his life, and he will be only burnt in the hand. But where the benefit of the clergy is not admitted, the sentence of death, after a summary account of the trial, is pronounced on the prisoner, in these words: *The law is, That thou shalt return to the place from whence thou camest, and from thence be carried to the place of execution, where thou shalt hang by the neck, till thy body be dead, and the Lord have mercy on thy soul:* whereupon the sheriff is charged with the execution.

All prisoners found *not guilty* by the jury, are immediately acquitted and discharged, and in some cases obtain a copy of their indictment from the court to proceed at law against their prosecutors.

*Of Punishments.*

Though the laws of England are esteemed more merciful, with respect to offenders, than those which at present subsist in any other part of the known world; yet the punishment of such who at their trial refuse to plead guilty or not guilty, is here very cruel. In this case the prisoner is laid upon his back, and his arms and legs being stretched out with cords, and a considerable weight laid upon his breast, he is allowed only three morsels of barley bread, which is given him the next day without drink, after which he is allowed nothing but foul water till he expires. This, however, is a punishment which is scarcely inflicted once in an age; but some offenders have chose it to preserve their estates for their children. Those guilty of this crime are not now suffered to undergo such a length of torture, but have so great a weight placed upon them, that they soon expire. In case of high treason, though the criminal stands mute, judgment is given against him as if he had been convicted, and his estate is confiscated.

The law of England includes all capital crimes under high treason, petty treason, and felony. The first consists in plotting, conspiring, or rising up in arms against the sovereign; or in counterfeiting the coin. The traitor is punished by being drawn on a sledge to the place of execution, when, after being hanged upon a gallows for some minutes, the body is cut down alive, the heart taken out and exposed to public view, and the entrails burnt: the head is then cut off, and the body quartered, after which the head is usually fixed on some conspicuous place. All the criminal's lands and goods are forfeited, his wife loses her dowry, and his children both their estates and nobility.

But though coining of money is adjudged high treason, the criminal is only drawn upon a sledge to the place of execution, and there hanged.

Though the sentence passed upon all traitors is the same, yet with respect to persons of quality, the punishment is generally altered to beheading: a scaffold is erected for that purpose, on which the criminal placing his head upon a block, it is struck off with an axe\*.

The punishment for misprision of high treason, that is, for neglecting or concealing it, is imprisonment for life, the forfeiture of all the offender's goods, and of the profits arising from his lands.

Petty treason is when a child kills his father, a wife her husband, a clergyman his bishop, or a servant his master or mistress. This crime is punished by being drawn in a sledge to the place of execution, and there hanged upon a gallows till the criminal is dead. Women guilty both of this crime, and of high treason, are sentenced to be burnt alive, but instead of suffering the full rigour of the law, they are strangled at the stake before the fire takes hold of them.

Felony includes murders, robberies, forging notes, bonds, deeds, &c. These are all punished by hanging, only murderers are to be executed soon after the sentence is passed; and then delivered to the surgeons in order to be publicly dissected. Persons guilty of robbery, when there are some alleviating circumstances, are sometimes transported for a term of years to his majesty's plantations. And in all such felonies where the benefit of the clergy is allowed, as it is in many, the criminal is burnt in the hand with a hot iron.

Other crimes punished by the laws are,

Manslaughter, which is the unlawful killing of a person without premeditated malice, but with a present intent to kill; as when two who formerly meant no harm to each other, quarrel, and the one kills the

\* This is not to be considered as a different punishment; but as a remission of all the parts of the sentence mentioned before, excepting the article of beheading.



other; in this case, the criminal is allowed the benefit of his clergy for the first time, and only burnt in the hand.

Chance-medley, is the accidental killing of a man without an evil intent, for which the offender is also to be burnt in the hand; unless the offender was doing an unlawful act, which last circumstance makes the punishment death.

Shop-lifting, and receiving goods knowing them to be stolen, are punished with transportation to his majesty's colonies, or burning in the hand.

Perjury, or keeping disorderly houses, are punished with the pillory and imprisonment.

Petty-larceny, or small theft, under the value of twelve-pence, is punished by whipping.

Libelling, using false weights and measures, and forestalling the market, are commonly punished with standing on the pillory, or whipping.

For striking, so as to draw blood, in the king's court, the criminal is punished with losing his right-hand.

For striking in Westminster hall while the courts of justice are sitting, is imprisonment for life, and forfeiture of all the offender's estate.

Drunkards, vagabonds, and loose, idle, disorderly persons, are punished by being set in the stocks, or by paying a fine.

#### *Of the Religion of England.*

Christianity was very early planted in England, but when, or by whom, is very uncertain; probably in the latter end of the first, or the beginning of the second century. The reformation in England, begun in the reign of Henry VIII. was greatly promoted under his son Edward VI. It was, however, checked by queen Mary, but compleated by queen Elizabeth. This reformation being conducted by the bishops, the established church of England became Episcopal.

Calvin indeed used many endeavours to obtain a share in the advancement and direction of this ecclesiastical reformation; but being desirous of depriving the bishops of their temporal grandeur, of banishing all external ornaments and pomp from divine worship, and introducing the Genevan constitution; the bishops declined his offers of assistance. Many, however, approving of Calvin's doctrine, formed an ecclesiastical government on his plan. These were afterward termed Puritans, from their avowed desire of freeing the church from the impurities still retained in it, and Nonconformists, from their not conforming to the rules of the established church. Agreeably to Calvin's model, they instituted presbyters without bishops, from whence they obtained the name of Presbyterians; instituting also church-laws among themselves, and being governed by synods composed of the ministers of several different churches. Others maintaining, that every Christian congregation ought to be free, and subject neither to bishops nor synods, these were termed Independents.

The Episcopalians and Presbyterians are the two principal parties, and differ the least from each other; the first form the established religion of England and Ireland, and the latter of Scotland. The most numerous of the other religious sects are the Baptists, who do not believe that infants are the proper subjects of baptism, and in the baptism of adults practise immersion. It is here proper to observe, that the English Presbyterians differ almost as much from the church of Scotland, as from the church of England; synods growing gradually out of use, each separate congregation is become, in a manner, independent of the rest: they have most of them forsaken the opinions of Calvin, and believing universal redemption, maintain that the universal Parent has excluded none of his offspring from a possibility of salvation; while the Independents, and many congregations of the Baptists, agree with the church of Scotland

Scotland in the doctrines of particular election and reprobation. It must also be added, that the presbyterians, with the church of England, receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper at noon, while the Independents and Baptists receive it after the conclusion of the afternoon service.

One of the principal of the other sects is the Quakers, who profess to be guided by an internal revelation dictated by the Spirit of God: they have no regular ministers, and neither practise baptism, nor commemorate the death of Christ in the Lord's Supper.

The Methodists have lately arisen, and now form a very numerous body; most of them are also members of the church of England, and profess to adhere more closely than the other members of that church to the thirty-nine articles; and the greatest part of them are rigid Calvinists.

The number of Papists here is also very considerable, particularly in Lancashire, Staffordshire, and Suffex.

Many authors have exclaimed, with great heat, of the many sects in England; but let it be considered, that civil and religious liberty are closely connected; and that it does not become any church, who makes no pretensions to infallibility, to set up the standard of persecution.

But to return: the church of England is under the government of two archbishops and twenty-five bishops, who are subject to the king as supreme temporal head of the church. The archbishop of Canterbury is stiled the first peer and metropolitan of the kingdom; he takes place immediately after the royal family, and consequently precedes not only all dukes, but likewise the great officers of state. In addresses to him he enjoys the title of Your grace, in common with dukes, and also that of most reverend father in God. He has the power of holding juridical courts in church affairs, with many other privileges relating to the granting of licenses and dispensations, in all

cases formerly sued for at the court of Rome, where they are not repugnant to the law of God, or the king's prerogative. He has also within his province, by common law, the probate of all wills, where the party dying is worth upward of five pounds. He has under him twenty-one bishops, beside his own particular diocese; these are the bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Lincoln, Rochester, Litchfield and Coventry, Hereford, Worcester, Bath and Wells, Salisbury, Exeter, Chichester, Norwich, Gloucester, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol; and in Wales, St. David's, Landaff, St. Asaph, and Bangor.

The archbishop of York likewise takes the precedence of all dukes who are not of the blood royal; as also of all the great officers of state, excepting the lord chancellor, who is immediately next in rank to the archbishop of Canterbury. In his diocese he is stiled primate of England and metropolitan; he also enjoys the title of his grace, and most reverend father in God. Exclusive of his own diocese, in his province are Durham, Carlisle, Chester, and Sodor and Man. In Northumberland he has the power of a palatine, and jurisdiction in all criminal proceedings.

The twenty-five bishops are stiled right reverend, and your lordship; all these walk next after the viscounts, and precede the barons. In parliament they sit in a double capacity, as bishops and barons; they also enjoy many other privileges, as freedom from arrests, outlawries, &c. They live in great state; their revenues are also considerable; but where the income is not very large, some other lucrative preferment, as a deanry, is generally annexed to it.

The business of a bishop is to examine and ordain priests and deacons, to consecrate churches and burying-places, and to administer the rite of consecration. The jurisdiction of a bishop relates to the probate of wills; he is to grant administration of goods to such as die intestate; to take care of perish-

able



able goods, when no one will administer; to collate to benefices; to grant institutions to livings; to defend the liberties of the church; and to visit his own diocese once in three years.

Next to the bishops are the deans and prebends of cathedrals, out of whom the bishops are chosen. After these are the archdeacons, of which every diocese has one or more, the whole number in the kingdom of England amounting to sixty. Their office is to visit the churches twice or thrice every year. The archdeacons are followed by the rural deans, who were formerly stiled archi-presbyters, and signify the Bishop's pleasure to his clergy, the lower class of which consists of priests and deacons.

With respect to the ecclesiastical government and courts, it is proper to observe, that the principal part of the ecclesiastical government was formerly lodged in the convocation, which is a national synod of the clergy, assembled to consider of the state of the church, and to call those to an account who have advanced new opinions, inconsistent with the doctrines of the church of England: but in the reign of his late majesty, they being thought to proceed with too much heat and severity against some learned divines, and to be too great a check upon free inquiry, they have not been permitted to sit for any long time since. However, they are assembled at the same time with the parliament, by the authority of the king, who directs his writs to the archbishop of each province to summon all bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c. to meet at a certain time and place.

The court of arches is the most ancient consistency of the province of Canterbury, and all appeals in church matters, from the judgment of the inferior courts, are directed to this. The processess run in the name of the judge, who is called dean of the arches; and the advocates who plead in this court must be doctors of the civil law. The court of audience has the same authority with this, to which the

archbishop's chancery was formerly joined. The prerogative court is that wherein wills are proved, and administrations taken out. The court of peculiars, relating to certain parishes, have a jurisdiction among themselves for the probate of wills, and are therefore exempt from the bishop's courts. The see of Canterbury has no less than fifteen of these peculiars. The court of delegates receives its name from its consisting of commoners, delegated or appointed by the royal commission; but it is no standing court. Every bishop has also a court of his own, called the consistory court. Every archdeacon has likewise his court, as well as the dean and chapter of every cathedral.

*Of the Revenues of the British Government.*

The king's ecclesiastical revenue consists in, 1. The custody of the temporalities of vacant bishoprics. 2. Corodies and pensions. 3. Extra-parochial tithes. 4. The first fruits and tenths of benefices.

The king's ordinary temporal revenue consists in, 1. The demesne lands of the crown. 2. The hereditary excise; being part of the consideration for the purchase of his feudal profits, and the prerogatives of purveyance and pre-emption. 3. An annual sum issuing from the duty on wine licences; being the residue of the same consideration. 4. His forests. 5. His courts of justice, &c.

The extraordinary grants are usually called by the synonymous names of aids, subsidies, and supplies; and are granted, as has been before hinted, by the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled: who, when they have voted a supply to his majesty, and settled the *quantum* of that supply, usually resolve themselves into what is called a committee of ways and means, to consider of the ways and means of raising the supply so voted. And in this committee every member (though it is looked upon as the peculiar

culiar province of the chancellor of the exchequer) may propose such scheme of taxation as he thinks will be least detrimental to the public. The resolutions of this committee (when approved by a vote of the house) are in general esteemed to be (as it were) final and conclusive. For, though the supply cannot be actually raised upon the subject till directed by an act of the whole parliament, yet no monied man will scruple to advance to the government any quantity of ready cash, on the credit of a bare vote of the house of commons, though no law be yet passed to establish it.

The annual taxes are, 1. The land tax, or the antient subsidy raised upon a new assessment. 2. The malt tax, being an annual excise on malt, mum, cyder, and perry.

The perpetual taxes are, 1. The customs, or tonnage and poundage of all merchandize exported or imported. 2. The excise duty, or inland imposition, on a great variety of commodities. 3. The salt duty. 4. The \* post office, or duty for the carriage of letters. 5. The stamp duty on paper, parchment, &c. 6. The duty on houses and windows. 7. The duty on licences for hackney coaches and chairs. 8. The duty on offices and pensions.

The clear neat produce of these several branches of the revenue, after all charges of collecting and management paid, amounts annually to about seven millions and three quarters sterling; beside two millions and a quarter raised annually, at an average, by the land and malt tax. How these immense sums are appropriated, is next to be considered. And this is, first and principally, to the payment of the interest of the national debt.

In order to take a clear and comprehensive view of the nature of this national debt, it must first be

\* From the years 1713 to 1763, the annual amount of franked letters gradually increased from 23,000 l. to 170,700 l.

premised,

premised, that after the revolution, when our new connections with Europe introduced a new system of foreign politics; the expences of the nation, not only in settling the new establishment, but in maintaining long wars, as principals, on the continent, for the security of the Dutch barrier, reducing the French monarchy, settling the Spanish succession, supporting the house of Austria, maintaining the liberties of the Germanic body, and other purposes, increased to an unusual degree: insomuch that it was not thought advisable to raise all the expences of any one year by taxes to be levied within that year, lest the unaccustomed weight of them should create murmurs among the people. It was therefore the policy of the times, to anticipate the revenues of their posterity, by borrowing immense sums for the current service of the state, and to lay no more taxes upon the subject than would suffice to pay the annual interest of the sums so borrowed: by this means converting the principal debt into a new species of property, transferable from one man to another at any time and in any quantity. A system which seems to have had its original in the state of Florence, *A. D.* 1344: which government then owed about 60,000 l. sterling: and, being unable to pay it, formed the principal into an aggregate sum, called metaphorically a mount or bank; the shares whereof were transferable like our stocks. This laid the foundation of what is called the national debt: for a few long annuities created in the reign of Charles II. will hardly deserve that name. And the example then set has been so closely followed, during the long wars in the reign of queen Anne, and since; that the capital of the national debt (funded and unfunded) amounted in January 1765, to upward of 145,000,000 l. to pay the interest of which, and the charges for management, amounting annually to about four millions and three quarters, the extraordinary revenues just now enumerated (excepting only



only the land-tax and annual malt-tax) are in the first place mortgaged, and made perpetual by parliament; but still redeemable by the same authority that imposed them: which, if it at any time can pay off the capital, will abolish those taxes which are raised to discharge the interest.

It is indisputably certain, that the present magnitude of our national incumbrances very far exceeds all calculations of commercial benefit, and is productive of the greatest inconveniencies. For, first, the enormous taxes that are raised upon the necessities of life for the payment of the interest of this debt, are a hurt both to trade and manufactures; by raising the price, as well of the artificer's subsistence, as of the raw material, and of course, in a much greater proportion, the price of the commodity itself. Secondly, if part of this debt be owing to foreigners, either they draw out of the kingdom annually a considerable quantity of specie for the interest; or else it is made an argument to grant them unreasonable privileges, in order to induce them to reside here. Thirdly, if the whole be owing to subjects only, it is then charging the active and industrious subject, who pays his share of the taxes, to maintain the indolent and idle creditor who receives them. Lastly, and principally, it weakens the internal strength of a state, by anticipating those resources which should be reserved to defend it in case of necessity. The interest we now pay for our debts would be nearly sufficient to maintain any war, that any national motives could require. And if our ancestors in king William's time had annually paid, so long as their exigencies lasted, even a less sum than we now annually raise upon their accounts, they would, in time of war, have borne no greater burdens than they have bequeathed to, and settled upon, their posterity in time of peace; and might have been eased the instant the exigence was over.

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The produce of the several taxes before-mentioned were originally separate and distinct funds; being securities for the sums advanced on each several tax, and for them only. But at last it became necessary, in order to avoid confusion, as they multiplied yearly, to reduce the number of these separate funds, by uniting and blending them together; superadding the faith of parliament for the general security of the whole. So that there are now only three capital funds of any account: the aggregate fund, and the general fund, so called from such union and addition; and the South Sea fund, being the produce of the taxes appropriated to pay the interest of such part of the national debt as was advanced by that company and its annuitants. Whereby the separate funds, which were thus united, are become mutual securities for each other; and the whole produce of them, thus aggregated, liable to pay such interest or annuities as were formerly charged upon each distinct fund; the faith of the legislature being moreover engaged to supply any casual deficiencies.

The customs, excises, and other taxes, which are to support these funds, depending on contingencies, upon exports, imports, and consumptions, must necessarily be of a very uncertain amount: but they have always been considerably more than was sufficient to answer the charge upon them. The surplusses therefore of the three great national funds, the aggregate, general, and South Sea funds, over and above the interest and annuities charged upon them, are directed by statute 3 Geo. I. c. 7. to be carried together, and to attend the disposition of parliament; and are usually denominated the sinking fund, because originally destined to sink and lower the national debt. To this have been since added many other intire duties, granted in subsequent years; and the annual interest of the sums borrowed on their respective credits, is charged on, and payable out of the produce of the sinking fund. However the neat  
surplusses

surplusses and savings, after all deductions paid, amount annually to a very considerable sum; particularly in the year ending at Christmas 1764, to about two millions and a quarter. For, as the interest on the national debt has been at several times reduced, (by the consent of the proprietors, who had their option either to lower their interest, or be paid their principal) the savings from the appropriated revenues must needs be extremely large. This sinking fund is the last resort of the nation; its only domestic resource, on which must chiefly depend all the hopes we can entertain of ever discharging or moderating our incumbrances. And therefore the prudent application of the large sums, now arising from this fund, is a point of the utmost importance, and well worthy the serious attention of parliament; which was thereby enabled, in the year 1765, to reduce above two millions sterling of the public debt.

But, before any part of the aggregate fund (the surplusses whereof are one of the chief ingredients that form the sinking fund) can be applied to diminish the principal of the public debt, it stands mortgaged by parliament to raise an annual sum for the maintenance of the king's household and the civil list. For this purpose, in the late reigns, the produce of certain branches of the excise and customs, the post-office, the duty on wine licences, the revenues of the remaining crown lands, the profits arising from courts of justice, (which articles include all the hereditary revenues of the crown) and also a clear annuity of 120,000 l. in money, were settled on the king for life, for the support of his majesty's household, and the honour and dignity of the crown. And, as the amount of these several branches was uncertain, (though in the last reign they were computed to have sometimes raised almost a million) if they did not arise annually to 800,000 l. the parliament engaged to make up the deficiency. But his present majesty having, soon after his accession, spontaneously

taneously signified his consent, that his own hereditary revenues might be so disposed of, as might best conduce to the utility and satisfaction of the public; and having graciously accepted the limited sum of 800,000 l. *per annum*, for the support of his civil list, (and that also charged with three life annuities, to the princess of Wales, the duke of Cumberland, and princess Amelia, to the amount of 77,000 l.) the said hereditary, and other revenues, are now carried into, and made a part of, the aggregate fund; and the aggregate fund is charged with the payment of the whole annuity to the crown of 800,000 l. *per annum*. Hereby the revenues themselves, being put under the same care and management as the other branches of the public patrimony, will produce more, and be better collected than heretofore; and the public is a gainer of upward of 100,000 l. *per annum*, by this disinterested bounty of his majesty. The civil list, thus liquidated, together with the four millions and three quarters, interest of the national debt, and the two millions and a quarter produced from the sinking fund, make up the seven millions and three quarters *per annum*, neat money, which were before stated to be the annual produce of our perpetual taxes: beside the immense, though uncertain sums, arising from the annual taxes on land and malt, but which, at an average, may be calculated at more than two millions and a quarter; and which, added to the preceding sum, make the clear produce of the taxes, exclusive of the charge of collecting, which are raised yearly on the people of this country, amount to upward of ten millions sterling.

The expences defrayed by the civil list are those that in any shape relate to civil government; as the expences of the household, all salaries to officers of state, to the judges, and every of the king's servants; the appointments to foreign ambassadors, the maintenance of the queen and royal family, the king's private expences, or privy purse, and other very numerous



rous outgoings; as secret service-money, pensions, and other bounties. These sometimes have so far exceeded the revenues appointed for that purpose, that application has been made to parliament, to discharge the debts contracted on the civil list; as particularly in 1724, when one million was granted for that purpose by the statute 11 Geo. I. c. 17.

The civil list is indeed properly the whole of the king's revenue in his own distinct capacity; the rest being rather the revenue of the public, or its creditors, though collected, and distributed again, in the name, and by the officers of the crown; it now standing in the same place, as the hereditary income did formerly; and, as that has gradually diminished, the parliamentary appointments have encreased.

*Of the Military and Marine strength of Great Britain.*

The military state includes the whole of the soldiery; or, such persons as are peculiarly appointed among the rest of the people, for the safeguard and defence of the realm.

In a land of liberty it is extremely dangerous to make a distinct order of the profession of arms. In such, no man should take up arms, but with a view to defend his country and its laws: he puts not off the citizen when he enters the camp; but it is because he is a citizen, and would wish to continue so, that he makes himself for a while a soldier. The laws therefore, and constitution of these kingdoms know no such state as that of a perpetual standing soldier, bred up to no other profession than that of war: and it was not till the reign of Henry VII. that the kings of England had so much as a guard about their persons.

It seems universally agreed by all historians, that king Alfred first settled a national militia in this kingdom, and by his prudent discipline, made all the subjects of his dominions soldiers.

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In the mean time we are not to imagine that the kingdom was left wholly without defence, in case of domestic insurrections, or the prospect of foreign invasions. Beside those, who by their military tenures, were bound to perform forty days service in the field, the statute of Winchester obliged every man, according to his estate and degree, to provide a determinate quantity of such arms as were then in use, in order to keep the peace : and constables were appointed in all hundreds, to see that such arms were provided. These weapons were changed by the statute 4 and 5 Ph. and M. c. 2. into others of more modern service ; but both this and the former provision were repealed in the reign of James I. While these continued in force, it was usual from time to time, for our princes to issue commissions of array, and send into every county officers in whom they could confide, to muster and array (or set in military order) the inhabitants of every district : and the form of the commission of array was settled in parliament in the 5 Hen. IV. But at the same time it was provided, that no man should be compelled to go out of the kingdom at any rate, nor out of his shire, but in cases of urgent necessity ; nor should provide soldiers unless by consent of parliament. About the reign of king Henry VIII. and his children, lord lieutenants began to be introduced, as standing representatives of the crown, to keep the counties in military order ; for we find them mentioned as known officers in the statute 4 and 5 Ph. and M. c. 3. though they had not been then long in use ; for Camden speaks of them in the time of queen Elizabeth, as extraordinary magistrates, constituted only in times of difficulty and danger.

Soon after the restoration of king Charles II. when the military tenures were abolished, it was thought proper to ascertain the power of the militia, to recognize the sole right of the crown to govern and command them, and to put the whole into a more regular

regular method of military subordination: and the order in which the militia now stands by law, is principally built upon the statutes which were then enacted. It is true, the two last of them are apparently repealed; but many of their provisions are re-enacted, with the addition of some new regulations, by the present militia laws; the general scheme of which is to discipline a certain number of the inhabitants of every county, chosen by lot for three years, and officered by the lord lieutenant, the deputy lieutenants, and other principal landholders, under a commission from the crown. They are not compellable to march out of their counties, unless in case of invasion or actual rebellion, nor in any case compellable to march out of the kingdom. They are to be exercised at stated times: and their discipline in general is liberal and easy; but, when drawn out into actual service, they are subject to the rigours of martial law, as necessary to keep them in order. This is the constitutional security which our laws have provided for the public peace, and for protecting the realm against foreign or domestic violence; and which the statutes declare, is essentially necessary to the safety and prosperity of the kingdom.

But, as the fashion of keeping standing armies has universally prevailed over all Europe of late years (though some of its potentates, being unable themselves to maintain them, are obliged to have resource to richer powers, and receive subsidiary pensions for that purpose) it has also for many years past been annually judged necessary by our legislature, for the safety of the kingdom, the defence of the possessions of the crown of Great Britain, and the preservation of the balance of power in Europe, to maintain, even in time of peace, a standing body of troops, under the command of the crown; who are however, *ipso facto*, disbanded at the expiration of every year, unless continued by parliament. The land forces of these kingdoms, in time of peace, amount to about 40,000

men, including troops and garrisons in Ireland, Gibraltar, Minorca, and America; but in time of war, there have been in British pay, natives and foreigners, above 150,000! The registered militia in England consists of near 200,000.

The maritime state is nearly related to the former; though much more agreeable to the principles of our free constitution. The royal navy of England hath ever been its greatest defence and ornament; it is its ancient and natural strength; the floating bulwark of the island; an army, from which, however strong and powerful, no danger can ever be apprehended to liberty: and accordingly it has been assiduously cultivated, even from the earliest ages. To so much perfection was our naval reputation arrived in the twelfth century, that the code of maritime laws, which are called the laws of Oleron, and are received by all nations in Europe, as the ground and substruction of all their marine constitutions, was confessedly compiled by our king Richard I. at the isle of Oleron on the coast of France, then part of the possessions of the crown of England. And yet, so vastly inferior were our ancestors in this point, to the present age, that even in the maritime reign of queen Elizabeth, Sir Edward Coke thinks it matter of boast, that the royal navy of England then consisted of 33 ships. The present condition of our marine is in great measure owing to the salutary provisions of the statutes, called the navigation-acts; whereby the constant increase of English shipping and seamen was not only encouraged, but rendered unavoidably necessary. The most beneficial statute for the trade and commerce of these kingdoms is that navigation-act, the rudiments of which were first framed in 1650, with a narrow partial view; being intended to mortify the sugar islands, which were disaffected to the parliament, and still held out for Charles II. by stopping the gainful trade which they then carried on with the Dutch; and at the same time



time to clip the wings of those our opulent and aspiring neighbours. This prohibited all ships of foreign nations from trading with any English plantations without licence from the council of state. In 1651, the prohibition was extended also to the mother country; and no goods were suffered to be imported into England, or any of its dependencies, in any other than English bottoms; or in the ships of that European nation, of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth or manufacture. At the restoration, the former provisions were continued, by statute 12 Car. II. c. 18. with this very material improvement, that the master and three fourths of the mariners shall also be English subjects.

The complement of seamen, in time of peace, usually amounts to twelve or fifteen thousand. In time of war, they have amounted to no less than sixty thousand men. See at the end of this volume a list of the royal navy of England, as it stood at the end of the late war.

This navy is commonly divided into three squadrons, namely, the red, white, and blue, which are so termed from the difference of their colours. Each squadron has its admiral; but the admiral of the red squadron has the principal command of the whole, and is stiled vice-admiral of Great Britain. Subject to each admiral is also a vice and a rear-admiral. But the supreme command of our naval force is, next to the king, in the lords commissioners of the admiralty. We may venture to affirm that the British navy, during the late war, was able to cope with all the other fleets in Europe. In the course of a few years it entirely vanquished the whole naval power of France, disabled Spain, and kept the Dutch in awe.

For the protection of the British empire, and the annoyance of our enemies, it was then divided into several powerful squadrons, and so judiciously stationed, that while one fleet was successfully battering walls,

hitherto reckoned impregnable, others were employed in frustrating the designs of France, and escorting home the riches of the eastern and western worlds.

Notwithstanding our favourable situation for a maritime power, it was not until the vast armament sent to subdue this nation by Spain, in 1588, that the nation, by a vigorous effort, became fully sensible of its true interest and natural strength, which it has since so happily cultivated. This appears more fully by the short view of our naval transactions, which closes this volume; and which, beginning with the reign of queen Elizabeth, is carried down to the peace of Versailles in 1763.

*An Historical Account of the Policy and Trade of Great Britain.*

The present system of English politics may properly be said to have taken rise in the reign of queen Elizabeth. At this time the Protestant religion was established, which naturally allied us to the reformed states, and made all the Popish powers our enemies.

We began in the same reign to extend our trade, by which it became necessary for us also to watch the commercial progress of our neighbours; and, if not to incommode and obstruct their traffic, to hinder them from impairing ours.

We then likewise settled colonies in America, which was become the great scene of European ambition; for, seeing with what treasures the Spaniards were annually enriched from Mexico and Peru, every nation imagined, that an American conquest or plantation would certainly fill the mother country with gold and silver.

The discoveries of new regions, which were then every day made, the profit of remote traffic, and the necessity of long voyages, produced, in a few years,  
a great

a great multiplication of shipping. The sea was considered as the wealthy element; and, by degrees, a new kind of sovereignty arose, called naval dominion.

As the chief trade of Europe, so the chief maritime power was at first in the hands of the Portuguese and Spaniards, who, by a compact, to which the consent of other princes was not asked, had divided the newly discovered countries between them: but the crown of Portugal having fallen to the king of Spain, or being seized by him, he was master of the ships of the two nations, with which he kept all the coasts of Europe in alarm, till the Armada, he had raised at a vast expence for the conquest of England, was destroyed; which put a stop, and almost an end, to the naval power of the Spaniards.

At this time the Dutch, who were oppressed by the Spaniards, and feared yet greater evils than they felt, resolved no longer to endure the insolence of their masters; they therefore revolted; and after a struggle, in which they were assisted by the money and forces of Elizabeth, erected an independant and powerful commonwealth.

When the inhabitants of the Low Countries had formed their system of government, and some remission of the war gave them leisure to form schemes of future prosperity, they easily perceived that, as their territories were narrow, and their numbers small, they could preserve themselves only by that power which is the consequence of wealth; and that by a people whose country produced only the necessaries of life, wealth was not to be acquired, but from foreign dominions, and by the transportation of the products of one country into another.

From this necessity, thus justly estimated, arose a plan of commerce, which was for many years prosecuted with industry and success, perhaps never seen in the world before; and by which the poor tenants of mud-walled viliages and impassable bogs, erected

themselves into high and mighty states, who set the greatest monarchs at defiance, whose alliance was courted by the proudest, and whose power was dreaded by the fiercest nations. By the establishment of this state, there arose to England a new ally, and a new rival.

At this time, which seems to be the period destined for the change of the face of Europe, France began first to rise into power, and from defending her own provinces with difficulty and fluctuating success, to threaten her neighbours with incroachments and devastations. Henry IV. having, after a long struggle, obtained the crown, found it easy to govern nobles, exhausted and wearied with a long civil war; and having composed the disputes between the Protestants and Papists, so as to obtain, at least, a truce for both parties, was at leisure to accumulate treasure, and raise forces which he proposed to have employed in a design of settling for ever the balance of Europe. Of this great scheme he lived not to see the vanity, or feel the disappointment; for he was murdered in the midst of his mighty preparations.

The French, however, were in this reign taught to know their own power; and the great designs of a king, whose wisdom they had so long experienced, even though they were not brought to actual experiment, disposed them to consider themselves as masters of the destiny of their neighbours: and from that time he that shall nicely examine their schemes and conduct, will find that they began to take an air of superiority, to which they had never pretended before; and that they have been always employed more or less openly, upon schemes of dominion, though with frequent interruptions from domestic troubles.

When Queen Elizabeth entered upon the government, the customs produced only 36,000 l. a year; at the restoration, they were left to farm for 400,000 l. and produced considerably above double that sum  
before



before the revolution. The people of London, before we had any plantations, and but very little trade, were computed at about 100,000; at the death of queen Elizabeth, they were increased to 150,000, and are now about six times that number. In those days, we had not only our naval stores, but our ships from our neighbours. Germany furnished us with all things made of metal, even to nails; wine, paper, linen, and a thousand other things came from France. Portugal furnished us with sugars; all the produce of America was poured upon us from Spain; and the Venetians and Genoese retailed to us the commodities of the East Indies at their own price. In short, the legal interest of money was 12 per cent. and the common price of our land ten or twelve years purchase. We may add, that our manufactures were few, and those but indifferent; the number of English merchants very small, and our shipping much inferior to what now belong to the northern colonies.

Such was the state of our trade when this great princess came to the throne; but as the limits of our undertaking does not permit us to give a detail of the gradual progress of commerce, we flatter ourselves that the British reader will not be displeased with the following view of our extensive trade, at present carried on through the various nations of the globe.

Great Britain is, of all other countries, the most proper for trade; as well from its situation, as an island, as from the freedom and excellency of its constitution, and from its natural products, and considerable manufactures. For exportation: our country produces many of the most substantial and necessary commodities, as butter, cheese, corn, cattle, wool, iron, lead, tin, copper, leather, copperas, pitcoal, alum, saffron, &c. Our corn sometimes preserves other countries from starving. Our horses are the most serviceable in the world, and highly valued by all nations for their hardiness, beauty, and strength.

With beef, mutton, pork, poultry, biscuit, we victual not only our own fleets, but all foreigners that come and go. Our iron we export manufactured in great guns, carcasses, bombs, &c. Prodigious, and almost incredible, is the value likewise of other goods from hence exported; viz. hops, flax, hemp, hats, shoes, household-stuff, ale, beer, red-herrings, pilchards, salmon, oysters, saffron, liquorice, watches, ribbands, toys, &c.

There is scarce a manufacture in Europe, but what is brought to great perfection in England; and therefore it is perfectly unnecessary to enumerate them all. The woollen manufacture is the most considerable, and exceeds in goodness and quantity that of any other nation. Hard-ware is another capital article; locks, edge-tools, guns, swords, and other arms; exceed any thing of the kind; household utensils of brass, iron, and pewter, also are very great articles; our clocks and watches are in very great esteem. There are but few manufactures we are defective in. In those of lace and paper we do not seem to excel; but we import much more than we should, if the duty on British paper was taken off. As to foreign traffic, the woollen manufacture is still the great foundation and support of it.

The commerce between Great Britain and the countries subject to the grand signior is carried on by the merchants incorporated into the Levant or Turkey company; but now opened in such a manner by a late statute, as to be more capable of answering national purposes, without lessening the particular advantages, which Turkey merchants ought in justice to enjoy. The commodities we export are chiefly lead, tin, and iron, watches and clocks; and of our woollen manufactures, broad cloth and long ells. It is also said, that our merchants send thither French and Lisbon sugars, as well as bullion. We take in return raw silk in great quantities, which however is only proper for the shute of our damask, and other coloured

coloured silks ; it will also serve for making stockings, galloons, and silver and gold lace ; but it is not proper for the warp of any silk, nor even for the woof of some of the finer sorts. We import also program yarn, dying stuffs of various kinds, drugs, soap, leather, cotton, fruit, oil, &c. While the war continued, it was a great help to us in this trade, as the French are our principal competitors therein ; and as they suffered very severely, not only by captures, but by the high insurance they paid on all the goods they exported ; so they could not but come very dear to markets, and perhaps we preserve still some of the advantages then acquired.

We export to Italy, of our own commodities, tin and lead, great quantities of fish, such as pilchards, herrings, salmon, cod, &c. various kinds of East India goods ; and of our own manufactures, broad cloths, long ells, Bays, druggets, camblets, and other stuffs ; as also leather and other things. We import from thence prodigious quantities of silk, raw, thrown, and wrought ; wine, oil, soap, olives, dying stuffs, &c. It is from this country, and more especially from the dominions of his Sardinian majesty, that we have the fine silk called organzine, which is thrown by an engine, much truer than it can be by hand, of which we have one, and but one, at Derby. That prince, however, has taken care to preserve to his subjects this precious commodity in its full extent ; for we have no Piedmont silk raw, and what we have we pay for in ready money, at a very high rate. This therefore makes the balance of power, and the change of masters, at least in the maritime parts of Italy, a thing of very great consequence to Great Britain ; and as such, it ought always to be considered by our ministers, and if possible, in no other light.

We export to Spain, tin, lead, corn, &c. pilchards, herrings, cod, and other kinds of fish ; of our manufactures broad cloth, druggets, bays, and stuffs, of various kinds ; as also a great variety of different goods,

goods, which are re-shipped by them from Cadiz to their colonies in America. On the other hand, we import from Spain, wine, oil, and fruit, wool, indigo, cochineal, and other drugs. It appears from hence, that if the Spaniards are good customers to us, we are also the best customers they have; for it is thought we take off two-thirds of their commodities: so that considering them as a nation, nothing can distress the Spaniards so much as a war with the English. It is very true, that in time of peace we draw a considerable balance from thence in specie or in bullion; but at the same time, we furnish them with the commodities that are most necessary, with the manufactures that bring them this bullion, and take also vast quantities of commodities that must otherwise lie upon their hands; whereas the French furnish them with many trifles, as well as some costly manufactures, for which they are paid wholly in silver. Hence it appears, that it is the mutual interest of Spain and Britain to deal with each other; and if this was thoroughly inculcated, it would enrich us and serve them.

We export to Portugal, tin, lead, corn, fish, and almost all of our commodities; as also broad cloths, druggets, bays, stuffs, leather, and many other manufactures; we take from them wine, oil, salt, and fruit; so that though it is generally supposed the balance of this trade is as much in our favour as any, yet the Portuguese find their account in it: for in the first place, we take almost all the commodities they export, and for which, if we did not take them, they could hardly find another market; and we furnish them with the best part of those things they export to the Brazils, and thereby draw that immense treasure yearly, which, for its bigness, renders Portugal one of the richest countries in Europe. Beside, these reciprocal advantages have made such a connection between our interests, that upon all occasions we have been ready to espouse those of Portugal, and to protect



fect her from the only power she has reason to fear, by the timely interposition of our maritime force.

We export to France, tin, lead, corn, horn plates, and great quantities of tobacco, some flannels; but very little else of our manufactures. We take from thence, in time of peace, wine, brandy, linen, lace, cambrics, lawns, (unless our late acts can keep them out) and an infinite number of other things which are run in upon us, and whatever else the French are pleased to direct: whence it appears, that of all others, the French commerce is to us the most dangerous and destructive.

We export to Flanders, tin, lead, and some iron ware, as also sugar and tobacco; of our manufactures, serges, some flannels, and a few stuffs. On the other hand, we take from them fine lace, cambrics, lawns, linen, tape, inkles, and other goods of that kind, to a very great value; so that there seems to be no doubt that the balance of this trade is considerably against us, which is chiefly owing to the prohibition of our cloth: therefore if any thing be worthy our seeking on the continent, it is the port of Ostend, with a small district about it, which at the same time would be of service to our allies, and might contribute to repair the expences we have been at in our several land wars. This is mentioned only incidentally.

We send to Germany, tin, lead, and many other commodities; tobacco, sugar, ginger, and all kinds of East-India goods. Of our woollen manufactures, some of almost every kind we make. On the other hand, we take from them tin plates, linen, kid skins, and several other things. The balance of this trade is looked upon to be very much in our favour, but it might be made still more; for in many places of late they have prohibited different kinds of our manufactures, and in some they have prohibited all. But in our treaties of subsidy, if we had an article to prevent or remove such prohibitions, it would be but reasonable: for as we pay the Germans for fighting their

their own battles, they might methinks in return allow a free vent to our manufactures; and as they are sure of taking our money, should give us a chance at least for seeing some of theirs.

We have a great trade with Denmark and Norway, but we export very little; a small quantity of tobacco, and a few coarse woollen goods is all; but we are forced to tack to these crown-pieces and guineas, to pay for timber and iron; and the matter is not all mended, but on the contrary grows worse; if instead of exporting our wealth, we stay till the Danes come and fetch it, for then we not only pay for their goods, but the freight also; and this evil it seems is not in our power to cure at present.

We carry on the same kind of losing trade to Sweden, where it is a maxim of state to beat out as much as possible all our commodities and manufactures; and this has been so steadily pursued, that it is now pretty near done, and gold and silver are almost our only exports. Copper, iron, and naval stores, are the goods we bring from thence, to the amount of about three hundred thousand pounds a year. We were formerly under a necessity of doing this; because their goods must be had, and could be had nowhere else. At present it is otherwise, we might have all these at much more reasonable rates from our own plantations, which is much the same thing as having them at home.

We export to Russia, tin, lead, and other commodities, a great quantity of tobacco; and of our manufactures, coarse cloths, long ells, worsted stuffs, &c. On the other hand, we import from thence, tallow, furs, iron, pot-ashes, hemp, flax, linen, Russia leather, &c. Our trade to this country is managed by a company, the best constituted, and the best conducted of any that we have; for any merchant may be admitted into it for a very small consideration, and the measures they pursue are such as prove highly beneficial, and never can do any harm. The trade through  
this

this empire into Persia, may become a thing of great consequence, as it will furnish us with that sort of silk which we want most, at an easy price, and may be attended with other advantages that we have not room to explain.

We export to Holland almost all the commodities and manufactures that we have, as well as most of our plantation goods, and of those we bring from the Levant and the East Indies. We import prodigious quantities of fine linen, threads, tapes, inkles, whale-fins, brass battery, cinnamon, mace, cloves, drugs, and dying stuffs, &c. yet with respect to the fair trade we have a large balance: the only doubt is, how far this may be abated by the great industry of smugglers, who gain their bread and raise fortunes by a steady pursuit of their private interests, at the expence of the public.

With respect to our African trade, it is certainly of the highest importance to the nation, for it creates a vast exportation of our commodities and manufactures, and produces a large balance in bullion from the Spaniards, as well as in gold-dust, red-wood, ivory, and other valuable commodities, some of which are re-exported; but above all it supplies our plantations with negroes, which is a thing of prodigious consequence. The old African company of England, once the most flourishing and profitable of all our companies, and but for bad management within, and party prejudice without, might have continued so, has been at length dissolved by parliament, and the commerce put into a new channel, which either answers, or will be made to answer national purposes; since no commerce can more nearly concern Great Britain and her colonies than this does, and scarcely any is so much the subject of foreign envy.

The East-India trade is a prodigious thing, and of great benefit to the nation, though we export chiefly bullion; and though it is carried on by a company. But the goods we bring home are bought at low prices,

prices, are sold at high rates, and what we export is believed to produce a balance equivalent at least to the bullion that is sent out to buy them. It has been of late suggested, and not without good reason, that this commerce is capable of great improvements, by extending it to the north-east; for in that case, we might hope to vend large quantities of our manufactures, which would at once remove the only reasonable exception that was ever taken to this trade, would augment our navigation, and hinder the northern nations from interfering with us, by employing the very money we pay for naval stores, in beating us out of a very considerable branch of commerce, for the carrying on of which those stores are purchased.

As for the plantation trade, we have already spoken of it elsewhere, and without doubt it is by far the most considerable of any that we have, and is notwithstanding this, far less considerable than it might be; for with a little pains and encouragement, it might be made in its savings and in its produce, twice or thrice as beneficial at it is: for it has been computed, that by encouraging hemp and flax, pot-ashes, timber, iron, other naval stores, and silk, we might either get or keep considerably above a million annually; and by making other regulations it is demonstrable, that within a few years we might gain as much more.

In short, the advantages are infinite that redound to us from our American empire, where we have at least a million of British subjects, and between fifteen hundred and two thousand sail of ships constantly employed.

The annual exports of English and foreign goods amount to between six and seven millions sterling, and our imports do not exceed five millions. As a considerable part of this is again exported, the annual issues from England for foreign merchandize, has been estimated at four millions. Yet our foreign trade does not amount to one sixth part of the inland;



land; the annual produce of the natural products and manufactures of England amounting to above forty-two millions. The gold and silver of England is received from Portugal, Spain, Jamaica, the American colonies, and Africa; but great part of this gold and silver we again export to Holland, and the East Indies; and it is supposed that two-thirds of all the foreign traffic of England is carried on in the port of London.

We shall conclude this account of our trade with the following comparative view of shipping, which, till a better table can be formed, may have its uses.

If the shipping of Europe be divided into twenty parts, then,

Great Britain, &c. is computed to have	6
The United Provinces	6
The subjects of the northern crowns	2
The trading cities of Germany, and the Austrian Netherlands	1
France	2
Spain and Portugal	2
Italy, and the rest of Europe	1

*A Short View of the Stocks, or public Funds in England, with an historical Account of the East India, the Bank, and South Sea Companies.*

As there are few subjects of conversation more general than the value of stocks, and hardly any thing so little understood, nothing can be more useful than a short account of them, which we shall here give in as clear and concise a manner as possible; presenting our readers with the rationale of the stocks, and a short history of the several companies, describing the nature of their separate funds, the uses to which they are applied, and the various purposes they answer, both with respect to the government, the companies themselves, and the community in general.

In

In order to give a clear idea of the money transactions of the several companies, it is proper we should say something of money in general, and particularly of paper money, and the difference between that and the current specie. Money is the standard of the value of all the necessaries and accommodations of life, and paper-money is the representative of that standard to such a degree, as to supply its place, and to answer all the purposes of gold and silver coin. Nothing is necessary to make this representative of money supply the place of specie, but the credit of that office or company, who delivers it; which credit consists in its always being ready to turn it into specie whenever required. This is exactly the case of the bank of England, the notes of this company are of the same value as the current coin, as they may be turned into it, whenever the possessor pleases. From hence, as notes are a kind of money, the counterfeiting them is punished with death as well as coining.

The method of depositing money in the bank, and exchanging it for notes (though they bear no interest) is attended with many conveniencies; as they are not only safer than money in the hands of the owner himself; but as the notes are more portable and capable of a much more easy conveyance: since a bank note for a very large sum, may be sent by the post, and to prevent the designs of robbers, may, without damage, be cut in two and sent at two several times. Or bills, called bank post bills, may be had by application at the bank, which are particularly calculated to prevent losses by robberies, they being made payable to the order of the person who takes them out at a certain number of days after sight; which gives an opportunity to stop bills at the bank, if they should be lost, and prevents their being so easily negotiated by strangers as common bank notes are: and whoever considers the hazard, the expence and trouble there would be in sending large sums of gold

gold and silver to and from distant places, must also consider this as a very singular advantage. Beside which another benefit attends them; for if they are destroyed by time, or other accidents, the bank will, on oath being made of such accident, and security being given, pay the money to the person who was in possession of them.

Bank notes differ from all kinds of stock in these three particulars. 1. They are always of the same value. 2. They are paid off without being transferred; and, 3. They bear no interest; while stocks are a share in a company's funds, bought without any condition of having the principal returned. India bonds indeed (by some persons, though erroneously, denominated stock) are to be excepted, they being made payable at six months notice, either on the side of the company or of the possessor.

By the word *stock* was originally meant, a particular sum of money contributed to the establishing a fund to enable a company to carry on a certain trade, by means of which the person became a partner in that trade, and received a share of the profit made thereby in proportion to the money employed. But this term has been extended farther, though improperly, to signify any sum of money which has been lent to the government, on condition of receiving a certain interest till the money is repaid, and which makes a part of the national debt. As the security both of the government and of the public companies is esteemed preferable to that of any private person, as the stocks are negotiable and may be sold at any time, and as the interest is always punctually paid when due, so they are thereby enabled to borrow money on a lower interest than what might be obtained from lending it to private persons, where there must be always some danger of losing both principal and interest.

But as every capital stock or fund of a company is raised for a particular purpose, and limited by parliament to a certain sum, it necessarily follows, that

when that fund is compleated, no stock can be bought of the company; though shares already purchased, may be transferred from one person to another. This being the case, there is frequently a great disproportion between the original value of the shares, and what is given for them when transferred; for if there are more buyers than sellers, a person who is indifferent about selling will not part with his share without a considerable profit to himself; and on the contrary, if many are disposed to sell, and few inclined to buy, the value of such shares will naturally fall, in proportion to the impatience of those who want to turn their stock into specie.

These observations may serve to give our readers some idea of the nature of that unjustifiable and dishonest practice called *stock-jobbing*, the mystery of which consists in nothing more than this: the persons concerned in that practice, who are denominated stock jobbers, make contracts to buy or sell, at a certain distant time, a certain quantity of some particular stock, against which time they endeavour, according as their contract is, either to raise or lower such stock, by raising rumours and spreading fictitious stories in order to induce people either to sell out in a hurry, and consequently cheap, if they are to deliver stock, or to become unwilling to sell, and consequently to make it dearer, if they are to receive stock.

The persons who make these contracts are not in general possessed of any real stock, and when the time comes that they are to receive or deliver the quantity they have contracted for, they only pay such a sum of money as makes the difference between the price the stock was at when they made the contract, and the price it happens to be at when the contract is fulfilled, and it is no uncommon thing for persons not worth 100 l. to make contracts for the buying or selling 100,000 l. stock. In the language of Exchange Alley,



Alley, the buyer in this case is called the Bull, and the seller the Bear.

Beside these, there are another set of men, who though of a higher rank, may properly enough come under the same denomination. These are your great monied men, who are dealers in stock and contractors with the government whenever any new money is to be borrowed. These indeed are not fictitious, but real buyers and sellers of stock; but by raising false hopes, or creating groundless fears, by pretending to buy or sell large quantities of stock on a sudden, by using the fore-mentioned set of men as their instruments, and other like practices, are enabled to raise or fall the stocks one or two per cent. at pleasure.

However, the real value of one stock above another, on account of its being more profitable to the proprietors, or any thing that will really, or only in imagination, affect the credit of a company, or endanger the government, by which that credit is secured, must naturally have a considerable effect on the stocks. Thus, with respect to the interest of the proprietors, a share in the stock of a trading company which produces 5 l. or 6 l. per cent. per ann. must be more valuable than an annuity with government security, that produces no more than 3 l. or 4 l. per cent. per annum; and consequently such stock must sell at a higher price than such an annuity. Though it must be observed, that a share in the stock of a trading company producing 5 l. or 6 l. per cent. per annum, will not fetch so much money at market as a government annuity producing the same sum, because the security of the company is not reckoned equal to that of the government, and the continuance of their paying so much per annum, is more precarious, as their dividend is, or ought to be, always in proportion to the profits of their trade.

As the stocks of the East India, the bank, and South-Sea companies, are distinguished by different

denominations, and are of a very different nature, we shall give a short history of each of them, together with an account of the different stocks, each is possessed of, beginning with the East India company, as the first established.

*Of the East India Company.*

There is no trading company in Europe, the Dutch East India company excepted, which can be put in competition with this. Its was first established in the latter end of the reign of queen Elizabeth; and its privileges have been enlarged, or confirmed, by almost every monarch since. Its shares, or subscriptions, were originally only 50 l. sterling; and its capital only 369,891 l. 5 s. but the directors having a considerable dividend to make in 1676, it was agreed to join the profits to the capital, by which the shares were doubled, and consequently each became of 100 l. value, and the capital 739,782 l. 10 s. to which capital, if 963,639 l. the profits of the company to the year 1685, be added, the whole stock will be found to be 1,703,402 pounds.

However, this company having sustained several losses by the Dutch, and the subjects of the great Mogul, was in a declining way at the revolution, when the war with France reduced it so low, that it appearing scarcely possible to be supported, a new one was erected. The merchants forming the new East India company, received their charter in 1698, having in consideration of the grant thereof, lent to the government two millions at 8 per cent. per annum, and pushing their trade with vigour, they soon carried on twice the business that was ever done by the old company. But after the two companies had subsisted a few years in a separate state, means were contrived to unite them, which was effected in 1702, when a new charter was granted them under the title of the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies.

To the two millions advanced by the new company, the united company in the 6th of queen Anne, lent the government 1,200,000 l. which made their whole loan amount to 3,200,000 l. a further sum was also lent by the company in 1730, on a renewal of their charter, the interest of which is reduced to 3 per cent. and called the India 3 per cent. annuities.

As to India stock, it is of a quite different nature; for as that is not money put out to interest, but the trading stock of the company, and the proprietors of the shares, instead of receiving a regular annuity, have a dividend of the profits arising from the company's trade; which, as it is more valuable, these shares generally sell at a price much above the original value.

As to the management of this united company, all persons without exception, natives and foreigners, men and women, are admitted members of it, and 500l. in the stock of the company, gives the owner a vote in the general court, and 2000 l. qualifies him to be chosen a director. The directors are 24 in number, including the chairman, and deputy chairman, who may be re-elected for four years successively. The chairman has a salary of 200 l. a year, and each of the directors 150 l. The meetings or courts of directors, are to be held at least once a week; but are commonly oftener, being summoned as occasion requires.

Out of the body of directors are chosen several committees, who have the peculiar inspection of certain branches of the company's business; as the committee of correspondence, a committee of buying, a committee of treasury, a house-committee, a committee of warehouses, a committee of shipping, a committee of accompts, a committee of law-suits, and a committee to prevent the growth of private trade, &c. who have under them a secretary, cashier, clerks, warehouse-keepers, &c.

Other officers of the company are governors and factors abroad, some of whom have guards of soldiers, and live in all the state of sovereign princes.

*Of the Bank of England.*

The company of the bank was incorporated by parliament, in the 5th and 6th years of king William and queen Mary, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Bank of England; in consideration of the loan of 1,200,000 l. granted to the government; for which the subscribers received almost 8 per cent. By this charter, the company are not to borrow under their common seal, unless by act of parliament; they are not to trade, or suffer any person in trust for them, to trade in any goods, or merchandize; but they may deal in bills of exchange, in buying or selling bullion, and foreign gold and silver coin, &c.

By an act of parliament passed in the 8th and 9th year of king William III. they were impowered to enlarge their capital stock to 2,201,171 l. 10 s. It was then also enacted, that bank stock should be a personal, and not a real estate; that no contract either in word or writing, for buying or selling bank stock, should be good in law, unless registered in the books of the bank within seven days; and the stock transferred in 14 days, and that it should be felony, without benefit of clergy, to counterfeit the common seal of the bank, or any sealed bank bill, or any bank note, or to alter or erase such bills or notes.

By another act passed in the 7th of queen Anne, the company were impowered to augment their capital to 4,402,343 l. and they then advanced 400,000 l. more to the government, and in 1714, they advanced another loan of 1,500,000 l.

In the third year of the reign of king George I. the interest of their capital stock was reduced to 5 per cent. when the bank agreed to deliver up as many exchequer bills as amounted to 2,000,000 l. and to  
accept



accept an annuity of 100,000 l. and it was declared lawful for the bank to call from their members, in proportion to their interests in the capital stock, such sums of money as in a general court should be found necessary. If any member should neglect to pay his share of the monies so called for, at the time appointed by notice in the London Gazette, and fixed upon the Royal exchange, it should be lawful for the bank, not only to stop the dividend of such member, and to apply it toward payment of the money in question; but also to stop the transfers of the share of such defaulter, and to charge him with an interest of 5 l. per cent. per annum, for the money so omitted to be paid: and if the principal and interest should be three months unpaid, the bank should then have power to sell so much of the stock belonging to the defaulter as would satisfy the same.

After this, the bank reduced the interest of the 2,000,000 l. lent to the government, from 5 to 4 per cent. and purchased several other annuities, which were afterward redeemed by the government, and the national debt due to the bank reduced to 1,600,000 l. But in 1742, the company engaged to supply the government with 1,600,000 l. at 3 per cent. which is now called the 3 per cent. annuities, so that the government was now indebted to the company 3,200,000 l. the one half carrying 4, and the other 3 per cent.

In the year 1746, the company agreed that the sum of 986,800 l. due to them in the exchequer bills unsatisfied, on the duties for licences to sell spirituous liquors by retail, should be cancelled, and in lieu thereof to accept of an annuity of 39,442 l. the interest of that sum at 4 per cent. The company also agreed to advance the further sum of 1,000,000 l. into the exchequer, upon the credit of the duties arising by the malt and land-tax, at 4 per cent. for exchequer bills to be issued for that purpose; in consideration of which the company were enabled to

augment their capital with 986,800 l. the interest of which, as well as that of the other annuities, was reduced to 3 l. 10 s. per cent. till the 25th of December 1757, and from that time to carry only 3 per cent.

And in order to enable them to circulate the said exchequer bills, they established what is now called bank circulation. The nature of which, not being well understood, we shall take the liberty to be a little more particular in its explanation than we have been with regard to the other stocks.

The company of the bank are obliged to keep cash sufficient to answer not only the common, but also any extraordinary demand that may be made upon them; and whatever money they have by them, over and above the sum supposed necessary for these purposes, they employ in what may be called the trade of the company; that is to say, in discounting bills of exchange, in buying of gold and silver, and in government securities, &c. But when the bank entered into the above-mentioned contract, as they did not keep unemployed a larger sum of money than what they deemed necessary to answer their ordinary and extraordinary demands, they could not conveniently take out of their current cash so large a sum as a million, with which they were obliged to furnish the government, without either lessening that sum they employed in discounting, buying gold and silver, &c. (which would have been very disadvantageous to them) or inventing some method that should answer all the purposes of keeping the million in cash. The method which they chose, and which fully answers their end, was as follows.

They opened a subscription, which they renew annually, for a million of money; wherein the subscribers advance 10 per cent. and enter into a contract to pay the remainder, or any part thereof, whenever the bank shall call upon them, under the penalty of forfeiting the 10 per cent. so advanced; in consideration of which, the bank pays the subscribers

4 per

4 per cent. interest for the money paid in, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for the whole sum they agree to furnish; and in case a call should be made upon them for the whole, or any part thereof, the bank farther agrees to pay them at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum for such sum till they repay it, which they are under an obligation to do at the end of the year. By this means the bank obtains all the purposes of keeping a million of money by them; and though the subscribers, if no call is made upon them (which is in general the case) receive  $6\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for the money they advance, yet the company gains the sum of 23,500 l. per annum by the contract; as will appear by the following account.

The bank receives from the government	£.
for the advance of a million	— 30,000

The bank pays to the subscribers who advance 100,000 l. and engage to pay (when called for) 900,000 l. more	6,500
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The clear gain to the bank therefore is	<u>23,500</u>
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This is the state of the case, provided the company should make no call on the subscribers; which they will be very unwilling to do, because it would not only lessen their profit, but affect the public credit in general.

Bank stock may not improperly be called a trading stock, since with this they deal very largely in foreign gold and silver, in discounting bills of exchange, &c. Beside which, they are allowed by the government very considerable sums annually for the management of the annuities paid at their office. All which advantages render a share in their stock very valuable, tho' it is not equal in value to the East India stock. The company make dividends of the profits half yearly, of which notice is publicly given; when those who have occasion for their money may readily receive it; but private persons, if they judge convenient, are permitted

permitted to continue their funds, and to have their interest added to the principal.

This company is under the direction of a governor, deputy-governor, and 24 directors, who are annually elected by the general court, in the same manner as in the East India company. Thirteen, or more, compose a court of directors for managing the affairs of the company.

The officers of this company are very numerous.

*Of the South Sea Company.*

During the long war with France in the reign of queen Anne, the payment of the sailors of the royal navy being neglected, and they receiving tickets instead of money, were frequently obliged by their necessities to sell these tickets to avaritious men at a discount of 40 l. and sometimes 50 l. per cent. By this and other means the debts of the nation unprovided for by parliament, and which amounted to 9,471,321 l. fell into the hands of these usurers. On which, Mr. Harley, at that time chancellor of the exchequer, and afterward earl of Oxford, proposed a scheme to allow the proprietors of these debts and deficiencies 6 l. per cent. per annum, and to incorporate them in order to their carrying on a trade to the South Sea; and they were accordingly incorporated under the title of the Governor and Company of Merchants of Great Britain, trading to the South Seas, and other parts of America, and for encouraging the Fishery, &c.

Though this company seem formed for the sake of commerce, it is certain the ministry never thought seriously during the course of the war, about making any settlements on the coast of South America, which was what flattered the expectations of the people; nor was it indeed ever carried into execution, or any trade ever undertaken by this company, except the Asiento, in pursuance of the treaty of Utrecht, for furnishing the Spaniards with negroes, of which this  
company



company was deprived by the late convention between the courts of Great Britain and Spain, soon after the treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748.

After this, some other sums were lent to the government in the reign of queen Anne at 6 per cent. In the third of George I. the interest of the whole was reduced to 5 per cent. and they advanced two millions more to the government at the same interest. By the statute of the 6th of George I. it was declared, that this company might redeem all or any of the redeemable national debts, in consideration of which the company were empowered to augment their capital according to the sums they should discharge: and for enabling the company to raise such sums for purchasing annuities, exchanging for ready money new exchequer bills, carrying on their trade, &c. the company might by such means as they should think proper, raise such sums of money as in a general court of the company should be judged necessary. The company were also impowered to raise money on contracts, bills, bonds or obligations under their common seal, on the credit of their capital stock. But if the sub-governor, deputy-governor, or other members of the company should purchase lands or revenues of the crown, upon account of the corporation, or lend money by loan or anticipation, on any branch of the revenue, other than such part only on which a credit of loan was granted by parliament, such sub-governor, or other member of the company, should forfeit treble the value of the money so lent.

The fatal South Sea scheme transacted in the year 1720, was executed upon the last-mentioned statute. The company had at first set out with good success, and the value of their stock for the first five years had risen faster than that of any other company, and his majesty, after purchasing 10,000 l. stock, had condescended to be their governor. Things were in this situation, when taking advantage of the above statute, the South Sea bubble was projected. The pretended

pretended design of which was to raise a fund for carrying on a trade to the South Seas, and purchasing annuities, &c. paid to the other companies: and proposals were printed and distributed shewing the advantages of the design, and inviting persons into it. The sum necessary for carrying it on, together with the profits that were to arise from it, were divided into a certain number of shares, or subscriptions to be purchased by persons disposed to adventure therein. And the better to carry on the deception, the directors engaged to make very large dividends, and actually declared, that every 100 l. original stock would yield 50 l. per annum, which occasioned so great a rise of their stock, that a share of 100 l. was sold for upward of 1000 l. This was in the month of July; but before the end of September it fell to 150 l. by which multitudes were ruined, and such a scene of distress occasioned as is scarcely to be conceived. But the consequences of this infamous scheme are too well known. We shall pass over all the other transactions of this company in the reign of king George I. as not material to our present purpose.

By a statute of the 6th of his late majesty, it was enacted, that from and after the 24th of June 1733, the capital stock of this company, which amounted to 14,651,103 l. 8 s. 1 d. and the shares of the respective proprietors, should be divided into four equal parts, three-fourths of which should be converted into a joint stock, attended with annuities, after the rate of 4 per cent. until redemption by parliament, and should be called, the new South Sea annuities, and the other fourth part should remain in the company as a trading capital stock, attended with the residue of the annuities or funds payable at the exchequer to the company for their whole capital, till redemption; and attended with the same sums allowed for charges of management, and with all effects, profits of trade, debts, privileges and advantages belonging to the South Sea company. That the

the accomptant of the company should twice every year, at Christmas and Midsummer, or within one month after, state an account of the company's affairs, which should be laid before the next general court, in order to their declaring a dividend: and all dividends should be made out of the clear profits, and should not exceed what the company might reasonably divide, without incurring any farther debt; provided that the company should not at any time divide more than 4 per cent. per annum, until their debts were discharged; and that the South Sea company, and their trading stock, should, exclusively from the new joint stock of annuities, be liable to all the debts and incumbrances of the company; and that the company should cause to be kept within the city of London, an office and books, in which all transfers of the new annuities should be entered and signed by the party making such transfer, or his attorney, and the person to whom such transfer should be made, or his attorney, should under-write his acceptance, and no other method of transferring the annuities should be good in law.

The annuities of this company, as well as the other, are now reduced to 3 l. per cent.

This company is under the direction of a governor, sub-governor, deputy-governor, and 21 directors; but no person is qualified to be governor, his majesty excepted, unless such governor has in his own name and right, 5000 l. in the trading stock; the sub-governor is to have 4000 l. the deputy 3000 l. and a director 2000 l. in the same stock. In every general court, every member having in his own name and right 500 l. in trading stock, has one vote; if 2000 l. two votes; if 3000 l. three votes, and if 5000 l. four votes.

The East India company, the bank of England, and the South Sea company, are the only incorporated bodies to which the government is indebted, except the million bank, whose capital is only one million,

million, constituted to purchase the reversion of the long exchequer orders.

The interest of all the debts owing by the government is now reduced to 3 per cent. excepting only the annuities for the years 1756, and 1758, the life annuities, and the exchequer orders: but the South Sea company still continues to divide four per cent. on their present capital stock, which they are enabled to do from the profits they make on the sums allowed to them for management of the annuities paid at their office, and from the interest of annuities which are not claimed by the proprietors.

As the prices of the different stocks are continually fluctuating above and below par; so when a person who is not acquainted with transactions of that nature, reads in the papers the prices of stocks, where bank stock is marked perhaps 127 l. India ditto 134 a 134  $\frac{3}{4}$ . South Sea ditto 97  $\frac{1}{2}$ , &c. he is to understand that a 100 l. of those respective stocks sell at such a time for those several sums.

In comparing the prices of the different stocks one with another, it must be remembered, that the interest due on them from the time of the last payment, is taken into the current price, and the seller never receives any separate consideration for it, except in the case of India bonds, where the interest due is calculated to the day of the sale, and paid by the purchaser over and above the premium agreed for. But as the interest on the different stocks is paid at different times, this, if not rightly understood, would lead a person not well acquainted with them into considerable mistakes in his computation of their value; some always having a quarter's interest due on them more than others, which makes an appearance of a considerable difference in the price, when, in reality, there is none at all. Thus, for instance, old South Sea annuities sell at present for £. 85  $\frac{1}{2}$  or £ 85 10 s. while new South Sea annuities fetch only £ 84  $\frac{3}{4}$ , or £ 84 15 s. though each of them produce the



the same annual sum of £ 3 per cent. but the old annuities have a quarter's interest more due on them than the new annuities, which amounts to 15 s. the exact difference. There is, however, one or two causes that will always make one species of annuities sell somewhat lower than another, though of the same real value, one of which is, the annuities making but a small capital, and there not being, for that reason, so many people at all times ready to buy into it, as into others, where the quantity is larger; because it is apprehended that whenever the government pays off the national debt, they will begin with that particular species of annuity, the capital of which is the smallest.

A stock may likewise be affected by the court of Chancery; for if that court should order the money which is under their direction to be laid out in any particular stock, that stock, by having more purchasers, will be raised to a higher price than any other of the like value.

By what has been said, the reader will perceive how much the credit and interest of the nation depends on the support of the public funds.—While the annuities, and interest for money advanced is there regularly paid, and the principal insured by both prince and people (a security not to be had in other nations) foreigners will lend us their property, and all Europe be interested in our welfare; the paper of the companies will be converted into money and merchandize, and Great Britain can never want cash to carry her schemes into execution.

In other nations, credit is founded on the word of the prince, if a monarchy; or that of the people, if a republic; but here it is established on the interests of both prince and people, which is the strongest security: for however lovely and engaging honesty may be in other respects, interest in money-matters will always obtain confidence; because many people pay great regard to their interest, who have but little veneration for virtue.

*A short*

*A short Description of London\*.*

London, the metropolis of Great Britain, including Westminster and Southwark, is a city of a very surprising extent, of prodigious wealth, and of the most extensive trade; it is at once the largest and richest city in Europe. This city is now what ancient Rome once was; the seat of liberty, the encourager of arts, and the admiration of the whole world.

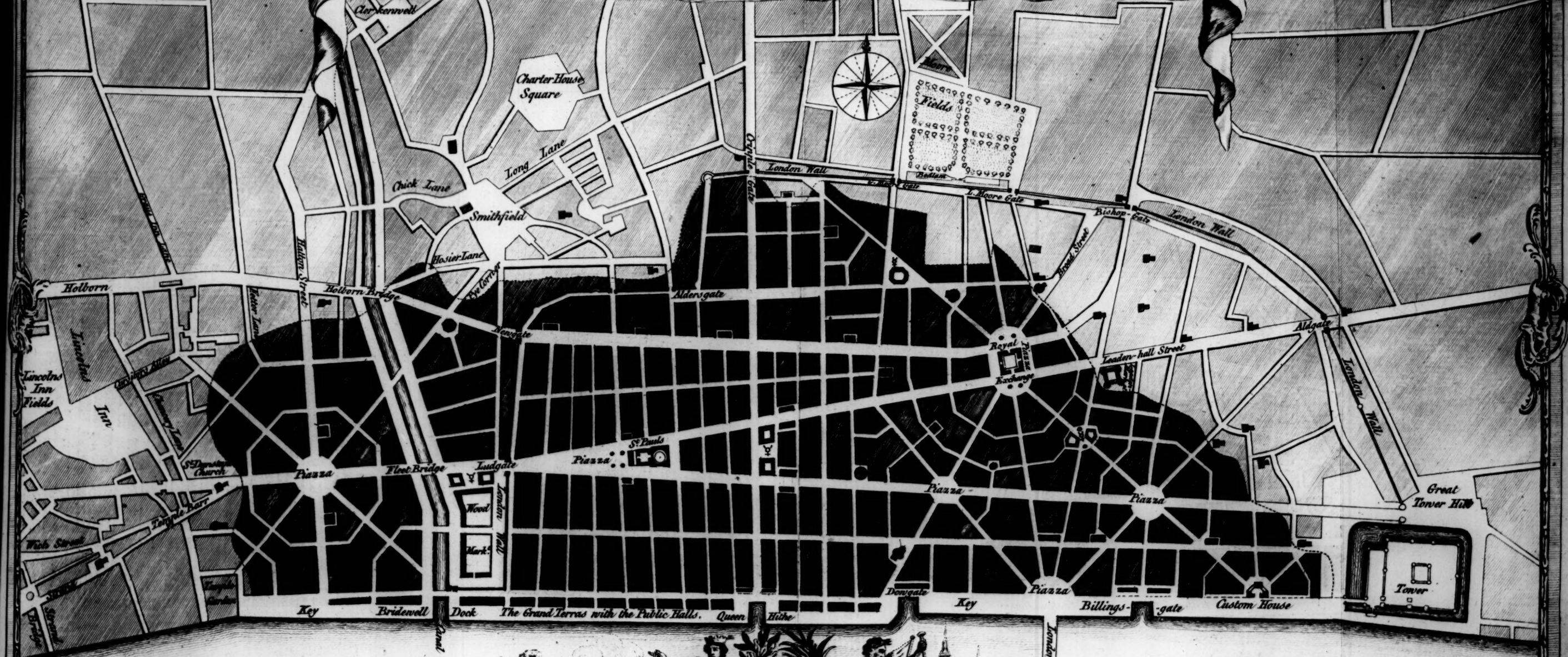
It is situated on the banks of the Thames, a river, which, though not the largest in the world, is of the greatest service to its commerce. It being continually filled with fleets, sailing to or from the most distant climates; and its banks being from London-bridge to Blackwall, almost one continued great magazine of naval stores, containing three large wet docks, 32 dry docks, and 33 yards for the building of ships, for the use of the merchants, beside the places allotted for the building of boats and lighters; and the king's yards lower down the river for building men of war. As this city is about sixty miles distant from the sea, it enjoys, by means of this river, all the benefits of navigation, without the danger of being surprised by foreign fleets, or of being annoyed by the moist vapours of the sea. It rises regularly from the water-side, and extending itself on both sides along its banks, reaches a prodigious length from east to west; surrounded on both sides by a number of large and populous villages, adorned with handsome commodious buildings, the country-seats of gentlemen and tradesmen; whither the latter retire for the benefit of the fresh air, and to relax their minds from the hurry of business.

\* London is situated in  $51^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude, 400 miles south of Edinburgh, and 270 south-east of Dublin; 250 north-west of Paris, 185 miles west of Amsterdam, 500 south-west of Copenhagen, 600 north-west of Vienna, 1360 north-west of Constantinople, 800 north-east of Madrid, 850 north-east of Lisbon, and 820 north-west of Rome.

The



*A Plan for Rebuilding the City of London after the Great Fire in 1666;  
Designed by that Great Architect S<sup>r</sup> Chris. Wren; & approv'd of by King & Parliament, but unhappily defeated by Faction.*



*That part of the Plan strongly shadowed, shows y<sup>e</sup> extent of y<sup>e</sup> Conflagration, with S<sup>r</sup> Christophers Design for Rebuilding the same, the Churches are mark'd thus +, and Markets thus &*



A Scale of 800 Yards, or  $\frac{1}{2}$  a Mile.  
100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 800

*Sparrow Sculp.*







A PLAN OF THE CITIES OF LONDON AND WESTMINSTER, AND BOROUGH OF SOUTHWARK, WITH THE NEW BUILDINGS—1767.





of it: this is the repository of the deceased British kings and nobility; and here are also monuments erected to the memory of many great and illustrious personages.

Among the other churches, the most remarkable are St. Paul's Covent-Garden, the churches of St. Mary le Bow, and St. Bride's; the two latter for having the finest steeples in the world. The inside of the church of St. Stephen, Walbroke, is admired all over Europe. And, in short, the contrivance and beauty of many other churches, considering how they were obliged to be thrust up in corners, is surprisngly fine. It is a great misfortune, that though this city abounds with the most elegant structures, and the most magnificent public and private buildings, yet they are placed in such a manner as must tempt every foreigner to believe that they were designed to be concealed.

There are here also two royal palaces, St. James's and Somerset-house, both of them, especially the first, greatly beneath the dignity of a king of Great Britain; as to the latter, it has been generally the residence of the queen-dowagers of England.

There are also in and near this city 100 almshouses, about 20 hospitals and infirmaries, 3 colleges, 10 public prisons, 15 flesh-markets; 1 market for live cattle, 2 other markets more particularly for herbs; and 23 other markets for corn, coals, hay, &c. 15 inns of court, 27 public squares, beside those within any single buildings, as the Temple, &c. 49 halls for companies, 8 public schools, called free-schools; and 131 charity-schools, which provide education for 5034 poor children; 7000 streets, lanes, courts, and alleys, and 130,000 dwelling-houses.

The bridges of London and Westminster are beheld with admiration by all foreigners; that of London consists of 19 stone arches, 20 feet between each; it is 900 feet long, 30 wide, and 60 feet high; and has a draw-bridge in the middle. The Thames in this part is 915 feet broad.

Westminster-bridge is reckoned one of the most compleat and elegant structures of the kind in the known world. It is built entirely of stone, and extended over the river at a place where it is 1,223 feet broad; which is above 300 feet broader than at London-bridge. On each side is a fine ballustrade of stone, with places of shelter from the rain. The width of the bridge is 44 feet, having on each side a fine footway for passengers. It consists of 14 piers, and 13 large, and two small arches, that in the center being 76 feet wide, and the rest decreasing four feet each from the other; so that the two least arches of the 13 great ones, are each 52 feet. It is computed that the value of 40,000 l. in stone and other materials is always under water. This magnificent structure was built in 11 years and nine months, and cost about 389,500 l.

Another elegant bridge is building at Black Friars, at the expence of the city of London; which, being situated near the center of this metropolis, will be of the utmost convenience to town and country.

Westminster-hall, though on the outside it makes a mean, and no very advantageous appearance, is a noble Gothick building, and is said to be the largest room in the world, it being 220 feet long, and 70 broad. Its roof is the finest of its kind that can be seen. Here is held the coronation feasts of our kings and queens; also the courts of chancery, king's-bench, and common-pleas; and above stairs, that of the exchequer.

That beautiful column, called the Monument, erected at the charge of the city, to perpetuate the memory of its being destroyed by fire, is justly worthy of notice. This column exceeds all the obelisks and pillars of the ancients, it being 202 feet high, with a stair-case in the middle to ascend to the balcony, which is about 30 feet short of the top, from whence there are other steps, made for persons to look out at the top of all, which is fashioned like an urn, with a flame issuing from it. On the base of

the Monument, next the street, the destruction of the city is emblematically represented in bas relief. The north and south sides of the base have each a Latin inscription, the one describing its dreadful desolation, and the other its splendid resurrection; and on the east side is an inscription, shewing when the pillar was begun and finished. The charge of erecting this monument amounted to upward of 13,000 l.

The Royal Exchange is a large noble building, and is said to have cost above 80,000 l.

We might here give a description of the Tower \*, Bank of England, the New-treasury, the Admiralty-office,

\* In examining the curiosities of the Tower of London, it will be proper to begin with those on the outside the principal gate; the first thing a stranger usually goes to visit is the wild beasts; which, from their situation, first present themselves: for having entered the outer gate, and passed what is called the spur-guard, the keeper's house presents itself before you, which is known by a painted lion on the wall, and another over the door which leads to their dens. By ringing a bell, and paying six-pence each person, you may easily gain admittance.

The next place worthy of observation is the Mint, which comprehends near one third of the Tower, and contains houses for all the officers belonging to the coinage. On passing the principal gate you see the White Tower, built by William the Conqueror. This is a large, square, irregular stone building, situated almost in the center, no one side answering to another, nor are any of its watch towers, of which there are four at the top, built alike. One of these towers is now converted into an observatory. In the first story are two noble rooms, one of which is a small armoury for the sea service, it having various sorts of arms, very curiously laid up, for above 10,000 seamen. In the other room are many closets and presses, all filled with warlike engines and instruments of death. Over this are two other floors, one principally filled with arms; the other with arms and other warlike instruments, as spades, shovels, pick-axes, and cheveaux de frize. In the upper story are kept match, sheep-skins, tanned hides, &c. and in a little room, called Julius Cæsar's chapel, are deposited some records, containing perhaps the ancient usages and customs of the place. In this building are also preserved models of the new invented engines of destruction, that have from time to time been presented to the government. Near the south-west angle of the White Tower is the Spanish armoury, in which are deposited the spoils of what was vainly called the Invincible Armada; in order to perpetuate to latest posterity,

the



office, the Banqueting-house at Whitehall, the Mews, where the king's horses are kept; the Mansion-house

the memory of that signal victory, obtained by the English over the whole naval power of Spain, in the reign of Philip II.

The trophies preserved here of this memorable victory, with some other curiosities, are, 1. A Spanish battle-ax, so contrived as to strike four holes in a man's skull at once; it has beside, a pistol in its handle, with a match lock. 2. The Spanish general's halbert, covered with velvet. All the nails are double gilt, and on the top is the pope's head, curiously engraven. 3. The Spanish morning star; a destructive engine in the form of a star; of which there were many thousands on board, and all of them with poisoned points; designed to strike at the English, in case they boarded them. 4. Thumb-screws, of which there were several chests full on board the Spanish fleet. The use they were intended for is said to have been, to extort confession from the English where their money was hid, had they prevailed.—Certain it is, that, after the defeat, the whole conversation of the court and country turned upon the discoveries made by the Spanish prisoners, of the racks, the wheels, and the whips of wire, with which they were to scourge the English of every rank, age, and sex. The most noted heretics were to be put to death; those who survived were to be branded on the forehead with a hot iron; and the whole form of government, both in church and state, was to be overturned. 5. A Spanish poll-ax, used in boarding of ships. 6. Spanish halberts, or spears, some of them curiously engraved, and inlaid with gold. 7. Spanish Spadas, or long swords, poisoned at the points, so that if a man received but ever so slight a wound, it would prove certain death. 8. Spanish cravats, as they are called; these are engines of torture, made of iron, and put on board to lock the feet, arms, and heads of English heretics together. 9. Spanish bilboes, also made of iron, to yoke the English prisoners two and two. 10. Spanish shot, which are of four sorts; spike-shot, star-shot, chain-shot, and link-shot; all admirably contrived, as well for the destruction of the masts and rigging of ships, as for sweeping the men off the decks. 11. The banner, with a crucifix upon it, which was to have been carried before the Spanish general. Upon it is the pope's benediction before the Spanish fleet sailed; for the pope, it is said, came to the water-side, and seeing the fleet, blessed it, and stiled it INVINCIBLE. 12. An uncommon piece of arms, being a pistol in a shield, so contrived that the pistol might be fired, and the body covered at the same time. It is to be fired by a match-lock, and the sight of the enemy taken through a little grate in the shield, which is pistol-proof. 13. The Spanish rançeur, made

sion-house of the lord mayor, the Custom-house, India-house, and a vast number of other public buildings; beside

in different forms, and intended either to kill the men on horse-back, or to pull them off their horses. At the back is a spike, which, your attendants say, was to pick the roast beef out of the Englishman's teeth. And on one of them is a piece of silver coin, which they intended to make current in England. On this coin are three heads, supposed to be the Pope's, Philip II's, and queen Mary's.—This is a curiosity which most Spaniards who arrive in London come to see, 14. The Spanish officers lances, finely engraved. These were formerly gilt, but the gilding is now almost worn off with cleaning. It is said, that when Don Pedro de Valdez, a captain of one of the Spanish ships that was taken, passed his examination before Lord Burleigh, he told his lordship, that those fine polished lances were put on board to bleed the English with; to which that nobleman merrily replied, that, if he were not mistaken, the English had performed that operation better on their good friends the Spaniards, with worse instruments. 15. The common soldiers pikes, 18 feet in length, pointed with long sharp spikes, and shod with iron; designed to keep off the horse, to facilitate the landing of their foot. 16. The last thing shewn of these memorable spoils, is the Spanish general's shield, not worn by him; but carried before him as an ensign of honour. Upon it are depicted, in most curious workmanship, some of the labours of Hercules, and other allegories, which seem to throw a shade upon the boasted skill of modern artists. This was made near an hundred years before the art of printing was known in England; and upon it is the following inscription, in Roman characters, ADULTERIO DEIANIRA CONSPURCANS OCCIDITUR CACVS AB HERCVL. OPPRIMITVR 1379. 17. The other curiosities deposited here, are Danish and Saxon clubs, weapons which each of those people are said to have used in their conquest of England. These are, perhaps, curiosities of the greatest antiquity of any in the Tower, they having lain there above 850 years. The warders call them the womens weapons, because, say they, "the British women made prize of them, when, in one night, they all conspired together, and cut the throats of 35,000 Danes; the greatest piece of secrecy the English women ever kept, for which they have ever since been honoured with the right-hand of the man, the upper end of the table, and the first cut of every dish of victuals they happen to like best." The massacre of the Danes was not, however, performed by the women alone, but by the private orders of Ethelred II. who in 1012, privately commanded his officers to extirpate those cruel and tyrannical invaders. 18.

King

beside the magnificent edifices raised by our nobility;  
as

King Henry VIII's walking staff, which has three match-lock pistols in it, with coverings to keep the charges dry. "With this staff, the warders tell you, the king sometimes walked round the city, to see that the constables did their duty; and one night, as he was walking near the bridge-foot, the constable stopt him, to know what he did with such an unlucky weapon, at that time of the night. Upon which the king struck him; but the constable calling the watchmen to his assistance, his majesty was apprehended, and carried to the Poultry Compter, where he lay till morning, without either fire or candle. When the keeper was informed of the rank of his prisoner, he dispatched a messenger to the constable, who came trembling with fear, expecting nothing less than to be hanged, drawn and quartered: but instead of that, the king applauded him for his resolution in doing his duty, and made him a handsome present. At the same time he settled upon St. Magnus's parish, an annual grant of 23 l. and a mark, and made a provision for furnishing 30 chaldron of coals, and a large allowance of bread annually for ever, toward the comfortable relief of his fellow-prisoners and their successors, which, the warders say, is paid them to this day." 19. A large wooden cannon, called Policy, because, as we are informed, when king Henry VIII. besieged Bouloigne, the roads being impassable for heavy cannon, he caused a number of these wooden ones to be made, and mounted on proper batteries before the town, as if real cannon; which so terrified the French commandant, that he gave up the place without firing a shot.—The truth is, the duke of Suffolk, who commanded at this siege under the king, soon made himself master of the lower town; but it was not till seven weeks afterward that the upper town capitulated, in which time the English sustained great loss in possessing themselves of the bray. The warders must therefore be greatly mistaken in their account of this piece. 20. The ax with which queen Anne Bullen, the mother of queen Elizabeth, was beheaded, on the 19th of May 1536. The earl of Essex, queen Elizabeth's favourite, was also beheaded with the same ax. 21. A small train of ten pieces of pretty little cannon, neatly mounted on proper carriages, being a present from the foundry of London to king Charles I. when a child, to assist him in learning the art of gunnery. 22. Weapons made with the blades of scythes fixed strait to the ends of poles. These were taken from the duke of Monmouth's party, at the battle of Sedgemoore, in the reign of James II. 23. The partizans that were carried at the funeral of king William III. 24. The perfect model of the admirable machine, the idea of which was brought from Italy by Sir Thomas Lombe, and first erected at

as Charlton-house, Marlborough-house, and Buckingham-ham-

Derby, at his own expence, for making orgazine or thrown silk. This model is well worth the observation of the curious.

You now come to the grand store-house, a noble building, to the northward of the White Tower, that extends 245 feet in length, and 60 in breadth. It was begun by king James II. who built it to the first floor; but it was finished by king William III. who erected that magnificent room called the New, or Small Armoury, in which that prince, with queen Mary, his consort, dined in great form, having all the warrant workmen and labourers to attend them, dressed in white gloves and aprons, the usual badges of the order of masonry. To this noble room you are led by a folding door, adjoining to the east end of the Tower chapel, which leads to a grand staircase of 50 easy steps. On the left-side of the uppermost landing-place is the work-shop, in which are constantly employed about fourteen furbishers, in cleaning, repairing, and new placing the arms. On entering the armoury, you see what they call a wilderness of arms, so artfully disposed, that at one view you behold arms for near 80,000 men, all bright, and fit for service: a sight which it is impossible to behold without astonishment; and beside those exposed to view, there were, before the late war, sixteen chests shut up, each chest holding about 1,200 muskets. The arms were originally disposed by Mr. Harris, who contrived to place them in this beautiful order, both here and in the guard-chamber of Hampton-court. He was a common gun-smith; but after he had performed this work, which is the admiration of people of all nations, he was allowed a pension from the crown for his ingenuity. The north and south walls are each adorned with eight pilasters, formed of pikes 16 feet long, with capitals of the Corinthian order, composed of pistols. At the west end, on the left-hand, as you enter, are two curious pyramids of pistols, standing upon crowns, globes, and scepters, finely carved and placed upon pedestals five feet high. At the east, or farther end, in the opposite corner, are two suits of armour, one made for that warlike prince Henry V. and the other for his son Henry VI. over each of which is a semicircle of pistols; between these is represented an organ, the large pipes composed of brass blunderbusses, the small of pistols. On one side of the organ is the representation of a fiery serpent, the head and tail of carved work, and the body of pistols winding round, in the form of a snake; and on the other an hydra, whose seven heads are artfully combined by links of pistols. The inner columns that compose the wilderness, round which you are conducted by your guides, are, 1. Some arms taken at Bath in the year 1715, distinguished

from



ham-house, in St. James's-park ; the duke of Montague's,

from all others in the Tower, by having what is called dog-locks ; that is, a kind of locks with a catch, to prevent their going off at half-cock. 2. Bayonets and pistols put up in the forms of half moons and fans, with the imitation of a target in the center, made of bayonet blades. These bayonets, of which several other fans are composed, are of the first invention, they having plug handles which go into the muzzle of the gun, instead of over it, and thereby prevent the firing of the piece, without shooting away the bayonet. These were invented at Bayonne in Spain, and from that place take their name. 3. Brass blunderbusses for sea-service, with capitols of pistols over them. The waves of the sea are here represented in old-fashioned bayonets. 4. Bayonets and sword-bayonets, in the form of half moons and fans, and set in carved scollop-stells. The sword-bayonet is made like the old bayonet, with a plug handle, and differs from it only in being longer. 5. The rising sun irradiated with pistols, set in a chequered frame of marine hangers, of a peculiar make, having brass handles, and a dog's head on their pomels. 6. Four beautiful twisted pillars, formed of pistols up to the top, which is about 22 feet high, and placed at right angles ; with the representation of a falling star on the cieling, exactly in the middle of them, being the center of this magnificent room. Into this place opens the grand stair-case door, for the admission of the royal family, or any of the nobility, whose curiosity leads them to view the armoury ; opposite to which opens another door into the balcony, that affords a fine prospect of the parade, the governor's house, the surveyor-general's, the store-keeper's, and other general officers in the Tower. 7. The form of a large pair of folding gates, made of serjeant's halberts, of an antique make. 8. Horsemen's carbines, hanging very artificially in furbeloes and flounces. 9. Medusa's head, vulgarly called the Witch of Endor, within three regular ellipses of pistols, with snakes. The features are finely carved, and the whole figure contrived with the utmost art. This figure terminates the north side. 10. Facing the east wall, as you turn round, is a grand figure of a lofty organ, 10 ranges high, in which are contained upward of 2,000 pairs of pistols. 11. On the south-side, as you return, the first figure that attracts attention, is Jupiter riding in a fiery chariot, drawn by eagles, as if in the clouds, holding a thunder-bolt in his left-hand ; and over his head is a rainbow : this figure is finely carved, and decorated with bayonets. The figures on this side answer pretty nearly to those on the other, and therefore need no farther description, till you come again to the center ; where, on each side the door leading to the balcony, you see, 12. A fine representation in carved work, of the star and garter, thistle, rose and

tague's, and the duke of Richmond's, in the Privy-garden;

and crown, ornamented with pistols, &c. and very elegantly enriched with birds, &c. 13. The arms taken from Sir William Perkins, Sir John Friend, Charnock, and others concerned in the assassination-plot in 1696; among which they shew the very blunderbuss with which they intended to shoot king William near Turnham Green, in his way to Hampton Court: also the carbine with which Charnock undertook to shoot that monarch, as he rode a hunting. 14. Lastly, the Highlanders arms, taken in 1715, particularly the earl of Mar's fine piece, exquisitely wrought, and inlaid with mother of pearl: also a Highland broad-sword, with which a Highlander struck general Evans, and at one blow struck him through the hat, wig, and iron skull-cap; on which that general is said to have shot him dead; others say, he was taken prisoner, and generously forgiven for his bravery. Here is also the sword of justice, with a sharp point, and the sword of mercy, with a blunt point, carried before the pretender on his being proclaimed king of Scotland, in 1715. Here are likewise some of the Highlanders pistols, the barrels and stocks being all iron; also a Highlander's Lochabor ax, with which it is said that colonel Gardner was killed at the battle of Preston Fans. A discerning eye will discover a thousand peculiarities in the disposition of so vast a variety of arms, which no description can reach; and therefore it is fit that every one who has a taste for the admirable combinations of art, should gratify it with the sight of the noblest curiosities of this kind in the whole world.

Upon the ground floor under the small armoury, is a large room of equal dimensions with that, supported by 20 pillars, all hung round with implements of war. This room, which is 24 feet high, has a passage in the middle 16 feet wide. At the sight of such a variety of the most dreadful engines of destruction, before whose thunder the most superb edifices, the noblest works of art, and numbers of the human species, fall together in one common and undistinguished ruin; one cannot help wishing that these horrible inventions had still lain, like a false conception, in the womb of nature, never to have been ripened into birth. But when, on the other hand, we consider, that with us they are not used to answer the purposes of ambition, but for self defence, and in the protection of our just rights, our terror subsides, and we view these engines of devastation with a kind of solemn complacency, as the means Providence has put into our hands for our preservation. 1. You are shewn two large pieces of cannon, employed by admiral Vernon before Carthage; each of which has a large scale driven out of their muzzles by balls from the castle of Bocca Chica. 2. Two pieces of excellent workmanship, presented by the city of London to the

garden; the earl of Chesterfield's house, near Hyde-  
park;

the young duke of Gloucester, son to queen Anne, to assist him in learning the art of war. 3. Four mortars in miniature, for throwing hand granadoes, invented by colonel Brown. They are fired with a lock like a common gun, but have not yet been introduced into practice. 4. Two fine brass cannon taken from the walls of Vigo in 1704, by the late lord Cobham. Their breeches represent lions couchant, with the effigy of St. Barbara, to whom they were dedicated. 5. A petard for bursting open the gates of a city or castle. 6. A large train of fine brass battering cannon, 24 pounders. 7. Some cannon of a new invention, from 6 to 24 pounders. Their superior excellence consists, first, in their lightness, the 24 pounders not weighing quite 1,700 weight, whereas formerly they weighed 5,000; the rest are in proportion; and secondly, in the contrivance for leveling them, which is by a screw, instead of beds and coins. This new method is more expeditious, and saves two men to a gun, and is said to be the contrivance of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland. 8. Brass mortars of 13 inches diameter, which throw a shell of 300 weight; with a number of smaller mortars, and shells in proportion. 9. A carcase, which they fill at sieges with pitch, tar, and other combustibles to set towns on fire. It is thrown out of an 18 inch mortar, and will burn two hours where it happens to fall. 10. A Spanish mortar of 12 inches diameter, taken on board a ship in the West Indies. 11. Six French pieces of cannon, 6 pounders, taken from the rebels at the battle of Culloden, April 16, 1745. 12. A beautiful piece of ordnance, made for king Charles I. when prince of Wales. It is finely ornamented with emblematical devices; among which is an eagle throwing a thunderbolt in the clouds. 13. A train of field-pieces, called the galloping train, carrying a ball of a pound and a half each. 14. A destroying engine, that throws 30 hand-granadoes at once, and is fired by a train. 15. A most curious brass cannon, made for prince Henry, the eldest son of king James I. the ornamenting of which is said to have cost 200 l. 16. A piece with seven bores, for throwing so many balls at once, and another with three, made as early as Henry VIII's time. 17. The drum-major's chariot of state, with kettle-drums placed. It is drawn by four white horses at the head of the train, when upon a march. 18. Two French field-pieces taken at the battle of Hochstadt in 1704. 19. An iron cannon of the first invention, being bars of iron hammered together, and hooped from top to bottom with iron hoops, to prevent its bursting. It has no carriage, but was to be moved from place to place by means of six rings, fixed to it at proper distances. 20. A very large mortar, weighing upward of 6,600 weight, and throwing a shell of 500 weight two miles. This  
mortar

park; the duke of Devonshire's, and the earl of Bath's,

mortar was fired so often at the siege of Namur by king William, that the very touch-hole is melted, for want of giving it time to cool. 21. A fine twisted brass cannon, 12 feet long, made in Edward VI's time, called queen Elizabeth's pocket-pistol; which the warders, by way of joke, tell you she used to wear on her right-side when she rode a hunting. 22. Two brass cannon, three bores each, carrying six pounders, taken by the duke of Marlborough at the glorious battle of Ramelies. 23. A mortar that throws nine shells at a time; out of which the balloons were cast at the fire-works, for the last peace.

Beside those above enumerated, there were in the stove-room, before the present war, a vast number of new brass cannon; together with sponges, ladles, rammers, handspikes, wadhooks, &c. with which the walls were lined round; and under the cieling there hang on poles upward of 4,000 harness for horses, beside men's harness, drag-ropes, &c. And beside the trophies of standards, colours, &c. taken from the enemy, it is now adorned with the transparent pictures brought hither from the fire-works played off at the conclusion of the peace in 1748.

The horse-armoury is a plain brick-building, a little to the eastward of the White Tower; and is an edifice rather convenient than elegant, where the spectator is entertained with a representation of those kings and heroes of our own nation, with whose gallant actions it is to be supposed he is well acquainted; some of them equipped and sitting on horseback, in the same bright and shining armour they were used to wear when they performed those glorious actions that give them a distinguished place in the British annals. In ascending the stair-case, just as you come to the landing-place, on casting your eye into the room, you see the figure of a grenadier in his accoutrements, as if upon duty, with his piece rested upon his arm; which is so well done, that at the first glance you will be apt to mistake it for real life. When you enter the room, your conductor presents to your notice, 1. The figures of the horse and foot on your left-hand, supposed to be drawn up in military order, to attend the kings on the other side of the house. These figures are as big as the life, and have been lately new painted. 2. A large tilting lance of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, king Henry VIII's general in France; a nobleman who excelled at the then fashionable diversion of tilting. 3. A compleat suit of tilting armour, such as the kings, nobility, and gentlemen at arms used to wear; with the tilting lance, the rest for the lance, and grand guard. 4. A compleat suit of armour, made for king Henry VIII. when he was but 18 years of age, rough from the hammer. It is at least six feet high, and the joints in the hands, arms and thighs, knees and feet, play like the joints of a rattle-



Bath's, in Piccadilly; Northumberland-house, in the

a rattle-snake, and are moved with all the facility imaginable.

The method of learning the exercise of tilting, was upon wooden horses set upon castors, which by the sway of the body could be moved every way; so that by frequent practice, the rider could shift, parry, strike, unhorse, and recover with surprising dexterity. Some of the horses in this armoury have been used for this purpose; and it is but lately that the castors have been taken from their feet. 5. A little suit of armour made for king Charles II. when prince of Wales, and about seven or eight years of age; with a piece of armour for his horse's head; the whole most curiously wrought and inlaid with silver. 6. Lord Courcy's armour. This nobleman, as the warders tell you, was champion of Ireland, and as a proof, shew you the very sword he took from the French champion; for which valiant action, he and all his successors have the honour to wear their hats in the king's presence; which privilege is still enjoyed by the lord Kinsale, as head of that ancient and noble family. 7. Real coats of mail, called brigantine jackets. They consist of small bits of steel, so artfully quilted one over another, as to resist the point of a sword, and perhaps a musket-ball, and yet are so flexible, that the wearer might bend his body as well as in his ordinary cloaths. 8. An Indian suit of armour, sent by the great mogul as a present to king Charles II. This is very great curiosity; it is made of iron quills about two inches long, finely japanned and ranged in rows, one row slipping easily over another: these are bound very strong together with silk twist, and are used in that country as a defence against darts and arrows. 9. A neat little suit of armour, worn by a carved figure, representing Richard duke of York, the youngest son of king Edward IV. who, with his brother Edward V. were smothered in the Tower, by order of their uncle and guardian, Richard III. 10. The armour of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaster, who was the son of a king, the father of a king, and the uncle of a king, but was never king himself: and Dugdale observes, that more kings and sovereign princes sprang from his loins, than from any king of Christendom. The armour here shewn is seven feet high, and the sword and lance of an enormous size. 11. The droll figure of Will Somers, who, as the warders tell you, was king Henry VIII's jester. They add, "he was an honest man of a woman's making—he had a handsome woman to his wife, who made him a cuckold; and he wears his horns on his head, because they should not wear holes in his pockets.—He would neither believe king, queen, nor any about the court, that he was a cuckold, till he put on his spectacles to see, being a little dim-sighted, as all cuckolds should be:" in which antic manner he is here represented. 12. What your conductors call a collar of torments, which, say they, "used formerly to be put about

the Strand; the houses of the duke's of New-castle

about the womens necks that cuckolded their husbands, or scolded at them when they came home late; but that custom is left off now-a-days, to prevent quarrelling for collars, there not being smiths enough to make them, as most married men are sure to want at one time or other."

You now come to the line of kings, which your conductor begins by reversing the order of chronology; so that in following them we must place the last first. 1. His late majesty king George I. in a compleat suit of armour, sitting with a truncheon in his hand, on a white horse richly caparisoned, having a fine Turkey bridle gilt, with a globe, crescent and star; velvet furniture laced with gold, and gold trappings. 2. King William III. dressed in the suit of armour worn by Edward the Black Prince, son to Edward III. at the glorious battle of Cressley. He is mounted on a sorrel horse, whose furniture is green velvet embroidered with silver, and holds in his right-hand a flaming sword. 3. King Charles II. dressed in the armour worn by the champion of England, at the coronation of his present majesty. He sits with a truncheon in his hand, on a fine horse richly caparisoned, with crimson velvet laced with gold. 4. King Charles I. in a rich suit of his own armour gilt, and curiously wrought, presented to him by the city of London when he was prince of Wales, and is the same that was laid on the coffin at the funeral procession of the late great duke of Marlborough, on which occasion a collar of SS was added to it, and is now round it. 5. James I. who sits on horseback, in a compleat suit of figured armour, with a truncheon in his right-hand. 6. King Edward VI. dressed in a curious suit of steel armour, whereon are depicted, in different compartments, a great variety of scripture histories. He sits like the rest on horseback, with a truncheon in his hand. 7. King Henry VIII. in his own armour, which is of polished steel, with the foliages gilt or inlaid with gold. He holds a sword in his right-hand. 8. King Henry VII. who also holds a sword. He sits on horseback in a compleat suit of armour, finely wrought, and washed with silver. 9. King Edward V. who with his brother Richard was smothered in the Tower, and having been proclaimed king, but never crowned, a crown is hung over his head. He holds a lance in his right-hand, and is dressed in a rich suit of armour. 10. King Edward IV. father to the two unhappy princes above-mentioned, is distinguished by a suit of bright armour studded. He holds a drawn sword in his hand. 11. King Henry VI. who, though crowned king of France at Paris, lost that kingdom, and was at last murdered in the Tower by the duke of Gloucester, afterward Richard III. 12. The victorious Henry V. who by his conquests in France caused himself to be acknowledged regent,

and

castle and Queensberry ; of lord Bateman ; of general Wade,

and presumptive heir to that kingdom. 13. Henry IV. the son of John of Gaunt. 14. King Edward III. John of Gaunt's father, and father to Edward the Black Prince, is represented here with a venerable beard, and in a suit of plain bright armour, with two crowns on his sword, alluding to his being crowned king both of England and France. 15. King Edward I. dressed in a very curious suit of gilt armour, and in shoes of mail. He has a battle-axe in his hand. 16. William the Conqueror, the first in the line, though last shewn, sits in a suit of plain armour. 17. Over the door where you go out of the armoury is a target, on which are engraved, by a masterly hand, the figures, as it should seem, of Justice, Fortune, and Fortitude ; and round the room, the walls are every where lined with various uncommon pieces of old armour, for horses heads and breasts, targets, and many pieces that now want a name.

In a dark, strong, stone room, about 20 yards to the eastward of the grand store-house or new armoury, the crown jewels are deposited. I. The imperial crown, with which it is pretended that all the Kings of England have been crowned since Edward the Confessor, in 1042. It is of gold, enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds, sapphires and pearls: the cap within is of purple velvet, lined with white taffety, turned up with three rows of ermine. They are however mistaken in shewing this as the ancient imperial diadem of St. Edward ; for that, with the other most ancient regalia of this kingdom, was kept in the arched room in the cloisters in Westminster Abbey till the grand rebellion ; when in 1642, Harry Martin, by order of the parliament, broke open the iron chest in which it was secured, took it thence, and sold it, together with the robes, sword, and scepter of St. Edward. However, after the restoration, king Charles II. had one made in imitation of it, which is that now shewn. II. The golden orb or globe, put into the king's right-hand before he is crowned ; and borne in his left with the scepter in his right, upon his return into Westminster Hall, after he is crowned. It is about six inches in diameter, edged with pearl, and enriched with precious stones. On the top is an amethyst, of a violet colour, near an inch and a half in height, set with a rich cross of gold, adorned with diamonds, pearls, and precious stones. The whole height of the ball and cup is 11 inches. III. The golden scepter, with its cross set upon a large amethyst of great value, garnished round with table diamonds. The handle of the scepter is plain ; but the pommel is set round with rubies, emeralds, and small diamonds. The top rises into a *fleur de lis* of six leaves, all enriched with precious stones, from whence issues a mound or ball, made of the amethyst already mentioned. The cross is quite covered with precious stones. IV. The scepter

ter

Wade, in Saville-row ; the earl of Granville's, Mr. Pelham's,

ter with the dove, the emblem of peace, perched on the top of a small Jerusalem cross, finely ornamented with table diamonds and jewels of great value. This emblem was first used by Edward the Confessor, as appears by his seal ; but the ancient scepter and dove was sold with the rest of the regalia, and this now in the Tower was made after the restoration. V. St. Edward's staff, four feet seven inches and a half in length, and three inches three quarters in circumference, all of beaten gold, which is carried before the king at his coronation. VI. The rich crown of state, worn by his majesty in parliament ; in which is a large emerald seven inches round ; a pearl esteemed the finest in the world, and a ruby of inestimable value. VII. The crown belonging to his royal highness the prince of Wales. The king wears his crown on his head while he sits upon the throne ; but that of the prince of Wales is placed before him, to shew that he is not yet come to it. VIII. The late queen Mary's crown, globe and scepter, with the diadem she wore at her coronation with her consort king William III. IX. An ivory scepter, with a dove on the top, made for king James II's queen, whose garniture is gold, and the dove on the top gold, enamelled with white. X. The *curtana*, or sword of mercy, which has a blade 32 inches long, and near two broad, is without a point, and is borne naked before the king at his coronation, between the two swords of justice, spiritual and temporal. XI. The golden spurs, and the armillas, which are bracelets for the wrists. These, though very antique, are worn at the coronation. XII. The *ampulla*, or eagle of gold, finely engraved, which holds the holy oil the kings and queens of England are anointed with ; and the golden spoon that the bishop pours the oil into. These are two pieces of great antiquity. The golden eagle, including the pedestal, is about nine inches high, and the wings expand about seven inches. The whole weighs about 10 ounces. The head of the eagle screws off about the middle of the neck, which is made hollow, for holding the holy oil ; and when the king is anointed by the bishop, the oil is poured into the spoon out of the bird's bill. XIII. A rich salt-feller of state, in form like the square White Tower, and so exquisitely wrought, that the workmanship of modern times is in no degree equal to it. It is of gold, and used only on the king's table at the coronation. XIV. A noble silver font, double gilt, and elegantly wrought, in which the royal family are christened. XV. A large silver fountain, presented to king Charles II. by the town of Plymouth, very curiously wrought ; but much inferior in beauty to the above. Beside these, which are commonly shewn, there are in the jewel office, all the crown jewels worn by the prince and princesses at coronations, and a great variety of curious old plate.

The



ham's, the duke of Bedford's, and Montague-house \*, in Bloomsbury; with a great number of others of the

The Record Office consists of three rooms, one above another, and a large round room, where the rolls are kept. These are all handsomely wainscoted, the wainscot being framed into presses round each room, within which are shelves, and repositories for the records; and for the easier finding of them, the year of each reign is inscribed on the inside of these presses, and the records placed accordingly. Within these presses, which amount to 56 in number, are deposited all the rolls, from the first year of the reign of king John, to the beginning of the reign of Richard III. but those after this last period are kept in the rolls chapel. The records in the Tower, among other things, contain, the foundation of abbeys, and other religious houses; the ancient tenures of all the lands in England, with a survey of the manors; the original of laws and statutes; proceedings of the courts of common law and equity; the rights of England to the dominion of the British seas; leagues and treaties with foreign princes; the achievements of England in foreign wars; the settlement of Ireland, as to law and dominion; the forms of submission of some Scottish kings; ancient grants of our kings to their subjects; privileges and immunities granted to cities and corporations during the period above-mentioned; enrollments of charters and deeds made before the conquest; the bounds of all the forests in England, with the several respective rights of the inhabitants to common of pasture, and many other important records, all regularly disposed, and referred to in near a thousand folio indexes. This office is kept open, and attendance constantly given, from seven o'clock till one, except in the months of December, January and February, when it is open only from eight to one, Sundays and holidays excepted. A search here is half a guinea, for which you may peruse any one subject a year.

\* The British Museum is deposited in Montague-house. Sir Hans Sloane, bart. (who died in 1753) may not improperly be accounted the founder of the British Museum: for its being established by parliament, was only in consequence of his leaving by will his noble collection of natural history, his large library, and his numerous curiosities, which cost him 50,000 l. to the use of the public on condition that the parliament would pay 20,000 l. to his executors. To this collection were added the Cottonian library, the Harleian manuscripts, and a collection of books given by the late major Edwards. His late majesty, in consideration of its great usefulness, was graciously pleased to add thereto, the royal libraries of books and manuscripts collected by the several kings of England.

The Sloanian collection consists of an amazing number of curiosities; among which are, the library, including books of

the nobility and gentry; but these would be sufficient to fill a large volume.

London is the center of trade, it has an intimate connection with all the countries in the kingdom; it is the grand mart of the nation, to which every part send their commodities, from whence they again are sent back into every town in the nation, and to every part in the world. From hence innumerable carriages, by land and water, are constantly employed, and from hence arises that circulation in the national body, which renders every part healthful, vigorous, and in a prosperous condition; a circulation that is equally beneficial to the head, and the most distant members. Merchants are here as rich as noblemen; and there is no place in the world in which the shops of tradesmen make such a noble and elegant appearance.

No expence has been spared to give this city all the essential advantages that could be procured by art and industry. And in particular, no place in the world is better supplied with water from the Thames and the New River; which is not only of inconceivable service to every family, but, by means of fire-plugs every where dispersed, the keys of which are drawings, manuscripts and prints, amounting to about 50,000 volumes. Medals and coins, ancient and modern, 22,000. Cameos and intaglios, about 700. Seals, 268. Vessels, &c. of agate, jasper, &c. 542. Antiquities, 1,125. Precious stones, agates, jaspers, &c. 2,256. Metals, minerals, ores, &c. 2,725. Crystals, spars, &c. 1,864. Fossils, flints, stones, 1,275. Earths, sands, salts, 1,035. Bitumens, sulphurs, ambers, &c. 399. Talcs, micæ, &c. 388. Corals, sponges, &c. 1,421. Testacea, or shells, &c. 5,843. Echini, echinitæ, &c. 650. Asteriæ, trochi, entrochi, &c. 241. Crustaceæ, crabs, lobsters, &c. 363. Stellæ marinæ, star-fishes, &c. 172. Fish and their parts, &c. 1,555. Birds and their parts, eggs and nests, of different species, 1,177. Quadrupeds, &c. 1,886. Vipers, serpents, &c. 521. Insects, &c. 5,439. Vegetables, 12,506. Hortus siccus, or volumes of dried plants, 314. Humana, as calculi, anatomical preparations, 756. Miscellaneous things, natural, 2,098. Mathematical instruments, 55. A catalogue of all the above is written in 38 volumes in folio, and 8 in quarto.

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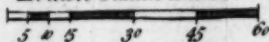
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Kilnaw  
SKY I.  
F. Bernera  
Glenishiel  
Cannay  
Rum  
Egg  
Muck  
Mull  
Mull I.  
Tirey  
I. Sker  
Dumb Kill  
Kilnaw  
I. Terber  
Collonaw  
Orunaw  
I. Grap  
Dowayrtach  
I. Naban  
Rathlin I.  
Fair Head  
Mull of Cantire  
Fairland P.  
Stranraer  
Port Patrick  
Mull of Galloway



SCOTLAND

from the best  
Authorities

IRELAND

XXXVI Minutes of Time W. from London.

XXIV







deposited with the parish officers, the city is, in a great measure, secured from the spreading of fire; for these plugs are no sooner opened than there is vast quantities of water to supply the engines.

This plenty of water has been attended with another advantage, it has given rise to several companies, who insure houses and goods, from fire; an advantage, that is not to be met with in any other nation on earth: the premium is small, and the recovery, in case of loss, is easy and certain. Every one of these offices, keep a set of men in pay, who are ready at all hours to give their assistance in case of fire; and who are on all occasions extremely bold, dexterous, and diligent; but though all their labours should prove unsuccessful, the person who suffers by this devouring element, has the comfort that must arise from a certainty of being paid the value of what he has insured.

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O F  
N O R T H B R I T A I N,  
O R  
S C O T L A N D,  
W I T H I T S I S L A N D S.

**T**HE kingdom of Scotland, or North Britain, comprehends all the northern part of this island beyond the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, together with a multitude of islands, which amount to about 300; some of them are very inconsiderable. This country is bounded on all sides by the ocean, except on the south, where it is separated from England, beginning at the east, by the river Tweed,

Cheviot-hills, the river Ersk, and Solway Firth. Near Carlisle it is generally reckoned to extend 300 miles in length, from Aldermouth head, near the isle of Mull, to Buchaness, and 150 in breadth, where broadest. The coast is much indented, and the land in several places nearly cut through by bays, gulphs, and rivers, the first of which form excellent harbours, and the latter abound with fresh water fish.

North Britain, exclusive of its islands, lies between the fifty-fourth degree forty minutes, and the fifty-eight degree thirty minutes north latitude, and between the first degree thirty minutes, and the sixth degree west longitude. The longest day is upwards of eighteen hours, and the shortest five hours forty-five minutes: but the brightness of the northern lights in a great measure remedy the inconvenience of the short days of winter.

The air is very temperate, and not half so cold as might be imagined from its being seated so far to the north. This, as in England, is owing to the warm vapours and moderate breezes that continually come from the sea; which also serve to purify the air, and put it in such a constant agitation, as preserves the inhabitants from any remarkable epidemic diseases.

Great part of the country, particularly toward the north and west, is mountainous, and covered with heath; this is called the Highlands, but these in several places yield good pasture: between the higher grounds are many rich valleys, which produce corn and cattle. The south parts of Scotland are far preferable to the north parts of England, and there are every where all things necessary for human life; and not only sufficient for the inhabitants, but also to export. They do not want wheat, but the grain mostly cultivated is oats, as it will grow in the mountainous parts. The productions in Scotland are in general much the same as in England. In the Lowlands there is little timber, but in the more northern parts there are forests of fir-trees, that might afford  
masts



masts for the largest men of war; but it is difficult to bring them to the sea-side. There are also many large woods of oaks, ash, and elms, fit for building, and abundance of fruit-trees in their gardens and orchards. The soil likewise in many places produces great plenty of hemp and flax.

Beside the fresh-water fish found in the lakes and rivers, several of the islands are frequented by whales; and cod, ling, haddock, sturgeon, turbot, mackrel, skate, sea-urchins, cat-fish, &c. are caught in great plenty on all their coasts. Lobsters, crabs, and oysters, are found in vast quantities on the Western Islands; and cockles, mussels, limpets, wilks, scallops, and spouts, are cast by the tide in such numbers on the isles, that the people cannot consume them.

In this country springs of clear and wholesome water are every where in plenty, not only on the sides, but on the tops of many of the mountains. These in their descent swell into pleasant rills, and augmenting their streams become rivers. Many of these meeting with hollow places in their passage, expand themselves into lakes, till finding a proper channel they resume their form of rivers, and, as the nature of the soil directs, sometimes expand themselves again and again, or continue their progress in the same form to the sea.

The most remarkable lochs or lakes in Scotland are Lochtay, Lochness, and Lochleven, which send forth rivers of the same name with themselves; Lochlomond, which sends forth the river Lomond; and Lochiern, from which flows the river Iern. There is a lake in Straitherrach, which never freezes, however severe the frost, till February, and then in one night it freezes all over, and if it continues two nights, the ice grows very thick. Another lake at a place called Glencanich, is seated on a high ground between the tops of two mountains, and it is remarkable that the middle of this lake is always frozen

throughout the summer, notwithstanding the strong reflection of the sun-beams from the mountains, which melts the ice at the sides of the lake. Round the lake the ground has a constant verdure, as if it enjoyed a perpetual spring; and by feeding on that grass, cattle grow sooner fat than any where else.

In Linlithgowshire is a lake called Lochoat, from whence a stream runs under a neighbouring mountain, and after it has pursued its course about two hundred paces, issues with great force from a spring about three feet broad, when it forms a stream that turns a mill.

The capital rivers, particularly the Forth, Clyde, Tay, and Nefs, &c. divide the country into peninsulas; these running so far within land as to be intercepted only by a small isthmus, or neck of land.

The kingdom of Scotland, notwithstanding the union of the crowns on the accession of their king James VI. to that of England, continued an entirely separate and distinct kingdom for above a century, though an union had been long projected: this was judged to be the more easy to be done, as both kingdoms were antiently under the same government, and still retained a very great resemblance, though far from an identity, in their laws. By an act of parliament 1 Jac. I. c. 1. it is declared, that these two, mighty, famous, and antient kingdoms were formerly one. And Sir Edward Coke observes, how marvellous a conformity there was, not only in the religion and language of the two nations, but also in their antient laws. the descent of the crown, their parliaments, their titles of nobility, their officers of state and of justice, their writs, their customs, and even the language of their laws. Upon which account he supposes the common law of each to have been originally the same, especially as their most antient and authentic book, called *Regiam Majestatem*, and containing the rules of their antient common law, is extremely similar to that of Glanvil, which contains the

the principles of ours, as it stood in the reign of Henry II. The many diversities, subsisting between the two laws at present, may be well enough accounted for, from a diversity of practice in two large and uncommunicating jurisdictions, and from the acts of two distinct and independent parliaments, which have in many points altered and abrogated the old common law of both kingdoms.

However, Sir Edward Coke, and the politicians of that time, conceived great difficulties in carrying on the projected union: but these were at length overcome, and the great work was happily effected in 1707, in the fifth of queen Anne; when twenty-five articles of union were agreed to by the parliaments of both nations: the purport of the most considerable being as follows:

1. That on the first of May 1707, and for ever after, the kingdoms of England and Scotland shall be united into one kingdom, by the name of Great Britain.

2. The succession to the monarchy of Great Britain shall be the same as was before settled with regard to that of England.

3. The united kingdom shall be represented by one parliament.

4. There shall be a communication of all rights and privileges between the subjects of both kingdoms, except where it is otherwise agreed.

9. When England raises 2,000,000 l. by a land tax, Scotland shall raise 48,000 l.

16, 17. The standards of the coin, of weights, and of measures, shall be reduced to those of England, throughout the united kingdoms.

18. The laws relating to trade, customs, and the excise, shall be the same in Scotland as in England. But all the other laws of Scotland shall remain in force; but alterable by the parliament of Great Britain. Yet with this caution: that laws relating to public policy are alterable at the discretion of the

parliament; laws relating to private right are not to be altered but for the evident utility of the people of Scotland.

22. Sixteen peers are to be chosen to represent the peerage of Scotland in parliament, and forty-five members to sit in the house of commons.

23. The sixteen peers of Scotland shall have all privileges of parliament: and all peers of Scotland shall be peers of Great Britain, and rank next after those of the same degree at the time of the union, and shall have all privileges of peers, except sitting in the house of lords and voting on the trial of a peer.

These are the principal of the twenty-five articles of union, which are ratified and confirmed by statute 5 Ann. c. 8. in which statute there are also two acts of parliament recited; the one of Scotland, whereby the church of Scotland, and also the four universities of that kingdom, are established for ever, and all succeeding sovereigns are to take an oath inviolably to maintain the same; the other of England, 5 Ann. c. 6. whereby the acts of uniformity of 13 Eliz. and 13 Car. II. (except as the same had been altered by parliament at that time) and all other acts then in force for the preservation of the church of England, are declared perpetual; and it is stipulated, that every subsequent king and queen shall take an oath inviolably to maintain the same within England, Ireland, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon Tweed. And it is enacted, that these two acts "shall for ever be observed as fundamental and essential conditions of the union."

Upon these articles, and act of union, it is to be observed, 1. That the two kingdoms are now so inseparably united, that nothing can ever disunite them again; unless perhaps an infringement of those points which, when they were separate and independent nations, it was mutually stipulated should be "fundamental and essential conditions of the union."

2. That whatever else may be deemed "fundamental  
" and



"and essential conditions," the preservation of the two churches, of England and Scotland, in the same state that they were in at the time of the union, and the maintenance of the acts of uniformity which establish our common prayer, are expressly declared so to be. 3. That therefore any alteration in the constitutions of either of those churches, or in the liturgy of the church of England, would be an infringement of these "fundamental and essential conditions," and greatly endanger the union. 4. That the municipal laws of Scotland are ordained to be still observed in that part of the island, unless altered by parliament; and, as the parliament has not yet thought proper, except in a few instances, to alter them, they still (with regard to the particulars unaltered) continue in full force. Wherefore the municipal or common laws of England are, generally speaking, of no force or validity in Scotland.

The courts of civil judicature in Scotland are,

The college of justice, commonly called the session, which consists of a president, and fourteen fixed senators or judges, called ordinary lords of session, with two extraordinary lords. Under these are seven clerks of session, and six inferior officers. Before this court are tried at stated times, all civil causes, which they determine by acts of parliament, and the custom of the nation; and where these are defective, they decide according to the civil law, and the rules of equity. There lies no appeal from this court but to the parliament; and the presence of nine judges is required to make their decrees valid.

The justiciary, usually called the justice or criminal court, consists of five lords of the session, the justice-general, and justice-clerk. These are joined by a pannel of fifteen out of forty-five, cited like juries in England, by whom all causes of a criminal nature are tried. They hold assizes all over the kingdom twice every year, and from thence are called lords of the circuit.

The

The court of exchequer, which is like that of England, and consists of a chief and four other barons, &c.

The court of chancery. The officers of state are, the keeper of the seal, and lord privy-seal, the lord clerk-register, and the lord advocate.

Beside the above national judges, every county or shire has a chief magistrate or his deputy, who is ordinary judge in all civil and criminal causes; but, in most cases, an appeal lies from this magistrate to the session and court of justiciary. The sheriff is in effect the supreme justice of peace, to whom the law principally intrusts the securing the quiet and tranquillity of that part of the kingdom of which he is sheriff. Bailiffs, stewards, and constables, in their respective districts, have the same liberty as sheriffs in their shires.

The court of admiralty is a supreme court, in which all maritime causes, crimes, trespasses, quarrels, &c. may be tried before the lord high admiral's judge, for he himself never judges; he forms his decisions on the civil law, and the customs of Scotland.

There are also in Scotland what are called commissary courts, which are a kind of ecclesiastical courts, in which causes are tried by commissaries. The principal of these is at Edinburgh. The four commissaries of that metropolis particularly try causes of matrimony and adultery, in order to a plenary divorce, so that the innocent person may marry, as if the offending party were naturally dead.

The Scots nation in general is of the reformed religion, except a small part still adhering to the church of Rome. The government of their church is denominated presbyterian, because they allow of no higher office than a preaching presbyter, who with the elders of the people perform the whole government. The Scots writers declare this to be their primitive form, when the nation first turned christian in the second century, and was never altered by the popish

popish prelates till the fourteenth century : and that the church of Scotland was reformed from popery by presbyters, without settling any prelacy instead thereof, is evident from the acts of parliament and general assemblies. The ecclesiastical courts are the four following.

1. The general assembly, which meets at Edinburgh annually in May, and consists of ministers and elders deputed from every presbytery in the nation. These determine all appeals from inferior church judicatures, and make laws and regulations for the government of the kirk. A lord commissioner, who is always a nobleman of the first quality, presides here as a representative of the king's person. The power of this court is very great, and from it there is no appeal.

2. The provincial synod, which is composed of the members of several adjacent presbyteries, meeting twice a year, at a principal place within the bounds, and like the general assembly is opened by a sermon. Their business is to receive correspondents from the neighbouring synods, who are a check upon one another; to determine appeals from the presbyteries within their district; and to enquire into and censure the behaviour of the presbyteries themselves. They have likewise power to remove a minister from one place to another: but appeals lie from the synod to the general assembly.

3. The presbytery, which consists of a minister and one elder from five to ten or more neighbouring parishes, who, being assembled, chuse one of the ministers to be præses, or moderator. Here are tried appeals from the kirk-session; and here they inspect into the behaviour of the ministers and elders within their respective bounds. They supply vacant parishes, ordain pastors, examine and license school-masters and young students for probationary preachers.

4. The kirk session consists of the minister and elders in each parish, who consider the affairs of the parish

as

as a religious society. They judge in all lesser matters esteemed scandalous, can suspend from the communion, and regulate every thing relating to public worship and the poor.

The number of kirks or churches in Scotland amounts to about nine hundred and fifty, beside a few chapels, which make up sixty-eight presbyteries, included in thirteen provincial synods.

There are here however several sects of dissenters from the established worship, the principal of which are the episcopalians, who use the form of prayer of the church of England: but the nonjurors among these are not permitted to have public meeting-houses, but are only suffered to preach and read the divine service to very small congregations; while those who take the oaths, and pray for his majesty in express terms, have meeting-houses. There are also the Erskinites and Gibbonites, so called from the ministers of those names, who have broke off from the church of Scotland, and upon that account they are also called seceders. There are likewise mountaineers, thus named from their preaching in the open fields, and on the mountains; these are also called covenanters.

The law of Scotland has provided against pluralities, and throughout the whole country there are no benefices worth less than fifty pounds sterling per annum; which in that country is a good maintenance; nor any that exceed a hundred and fifty pounds a year.

The members of this ecclesiastical republic (who are all upon an equality in point of dignity and power) are esteemed to be very sincere in their principles, indefatigable in their ministerial labours, and are greatly respected by their parishioners. Beside discharging their spiritual duties, these gentlemen frequently act in the capacity of arbitrators in matters of dispute between man and man; their healing advice is generally attended with success, and both parties



parties return to their families fully reconciled to each other. Where such pastors preside there are few instances of irregularity among the lower classes of the people: adultery, swearing, and fighting, are so very uncommon, that the persons guilty of such practices are considered as the most incorrigible miscreants, despised and shunned by the whole neighbourhood.

The union with England was strongly opposed by the people of Scotland in general, and occasioned such tumults, that the nation was threatened with a civil war. One of the nobles declared in parliament, that his degenerate countrymen were about to give up in half an hour what their warlike predecessors had so bravely defended, and so hardly earned during a contest of many centuries. But the chief grounds of opposition proceeded from a consideration of the heavy taxes that must be levied upon them to pay the interest of debts they never had contracted. Before this time, taxes were almost unknown in that kingdom, provisions were cheap, and by means of their fisheries, mines, and manufactures, they carried on a beneficial trade with Holland and France: but in consequence of the union they were to renounce this trade, and drink port at 2 s. per bottle, in preference to claret at 10 d. because the English carried on a lucrative trade with Portugal. By this treaty the parliament of Scotland, which was annually held at Edinburgh, was to be dissolved, and a limited number of their nobility, together with 45 commoners, were to represent Scotland in the British parliament. It was easy to foresee that so many of their nobility and gentry residing at London would spend one third of the rents of the kingdom in that metropolis.

Such were the objections made by the people of Scotland against this famous treaty, but upon the other hand, the advantages resulting therefrom, though at first they seemed remote and precarious, are many and substantial. An increase of trade has, in the course of 60 years, given a new face to the whole

whole kingdom, but more particularly in the western parts, where the inhabitants soon availed themselves of a free commerce with America. Instead of dark Gothick castles inhabited by a nobility more distinguished for their valour than by wealth, and under whose protection existed a poor, oppressed commonalty, we now behold an incredible number of villas, surrounded with inclosures, and laid out in a manner that does honour to the taste of a trading people. Instead of a few inconsiderable boroughs, remarkable only for the antiquity of their charters, or some ruinous abbey, we meet large and populous towns, well known in the mercantile world for the variety and beauty of their manufactures.

Scotland produces most of the necessaries of life, and supplies other nations with black cattle, sheep, pork, salmon, herrings, and other kinds of fish, corn, barley, salt, tallow, hides, butter, eggs, lead, coals, and freestone; it likewise exports linen cloth, holands, cambrics, gauzes, silk and worsted stockings, printed cloths, carpets, books, hats, plaid, and coarse woollen cloth, &c. These and many other commodities are chiefly manufactured at Glasgow, a large and beautiful city, situated upon the river Clyde; in point of commerce the first in Scotland. This city likewise carries on a very extensive foreign trade, particularly to America, by means of which, and her own natural productions, Scotland is enabled to remit incredible sums to England, where the fruits of her industry chiefly centers; so that in reality the people of South Britain owe a considerable part of their riches to the very people whose poverty they are so apt to despise. The difficulty of procuring bills upon London, and the high premiums they bear, are convincing proofs that the balance of trade is greatly in favour of England. It may not be improper in this place to observe also, how grossly this country has been misrepresented by late writers, some wilfully, and others through ignorance,

rance, by literally copying from Camden and other old authors, without making proper allowances for the changes and improvements which have taken place, from a gradual increase of trade, and an uncommon attention to agriculture during a period of near two centuries. These compilers of geographical systems would do well to convince us of their extensive knowledge of foreign countries, by giving a more just account of our own. The best modern description of this island seems to be that written by Mr. S. Richardson, intitled, *A Tour through Great Britain.*

The Scots are in general well shaped, strongly made, hardy and robust. They live well, though not grossly, and are wholly unacquainted with some diseases, as well as some vices too common in many other countries. They are, for the most part, an active, industrious, and religious people; and having a great share of natural good sense and sagacity, they generally succeed in their undertakings. The women of inferior rank, and some in higher life, are so remarkable for their industry, that their whole families are generally clothed with their own manufacture. The fidelity of this people is such, that the kings of France, for near 300 years, committed the immediate care of their royal persons to a regiment of Scottish guards. And in 1746, the young pretender wandered several months from place to place, during which time there was not one attempt made toward a discovery, though he was known to many persons, and a reward of 30000*l.* offered for his head. The Scotch, however, are not without their faults, and the inferior gentlemen among them have often a greater share of pride than the first English peers; this, however, wears off soon after they have crossed the Tweed, or have visited other countries. Many of them likewise too much affect to imitate their more wealthy neighbours in luxury, and in the other prevailing vices of the times.

Scotland has produced many persons eminent for genius and learning, but no period was ever so distinguished

tinguished as the present, which, if we may use the expression, may be considered as the golden age of literature in that kingdom.

The Scots music is universally admired; love is generally the subject, and many of the airs have been brought upon the English stage, under new names, but with this disadvantage, that they are mostly altered for the worse; being strip'd of that original simplicity which is their essential characteristic, which is so agreeable to the ear, and has such powers over the human breast.

With regard to the original inhabitants of Scotland, we have no certain accounts; it is probable that they came in colonies from the neighbouring continent. The Picts seem to be no other than such of the bravest Britons as would not submit to the Roman yoke, and were driven northward by these invaders. The history of Scotland, says Dr. Robertson, may be properly divided into four periods. The first reaches from the origin of that monarchy to the reign of Kenneth II. who subdued the Picts in the year 838, and united under one monarchy all that country now called Scotland. The second, from Kenneth's conquest of the Picts to the death of Alexander III. when the competitors for the crown put themselves under the arbitration of Edward I. of England. The third extends to the death of James V. The last, from thence to the accession of James VI. to the crown of England. It has been much regretted, that this celebrated writer confined his history to this last period, containing only two reigns. It is observable, that Innes, and other Scottish writers since his time, have affected to doubt the very existence of no less than forty of their first kings. But it is not very probable that 30000 Caledonians, who opposed Agricola, could be brought together in these barbarous ages without a leader invested with sovereign authority; and that these people should, during several centuries, sustain the hostile attacks of united armies, and at last oblige the Romans to bound their empire

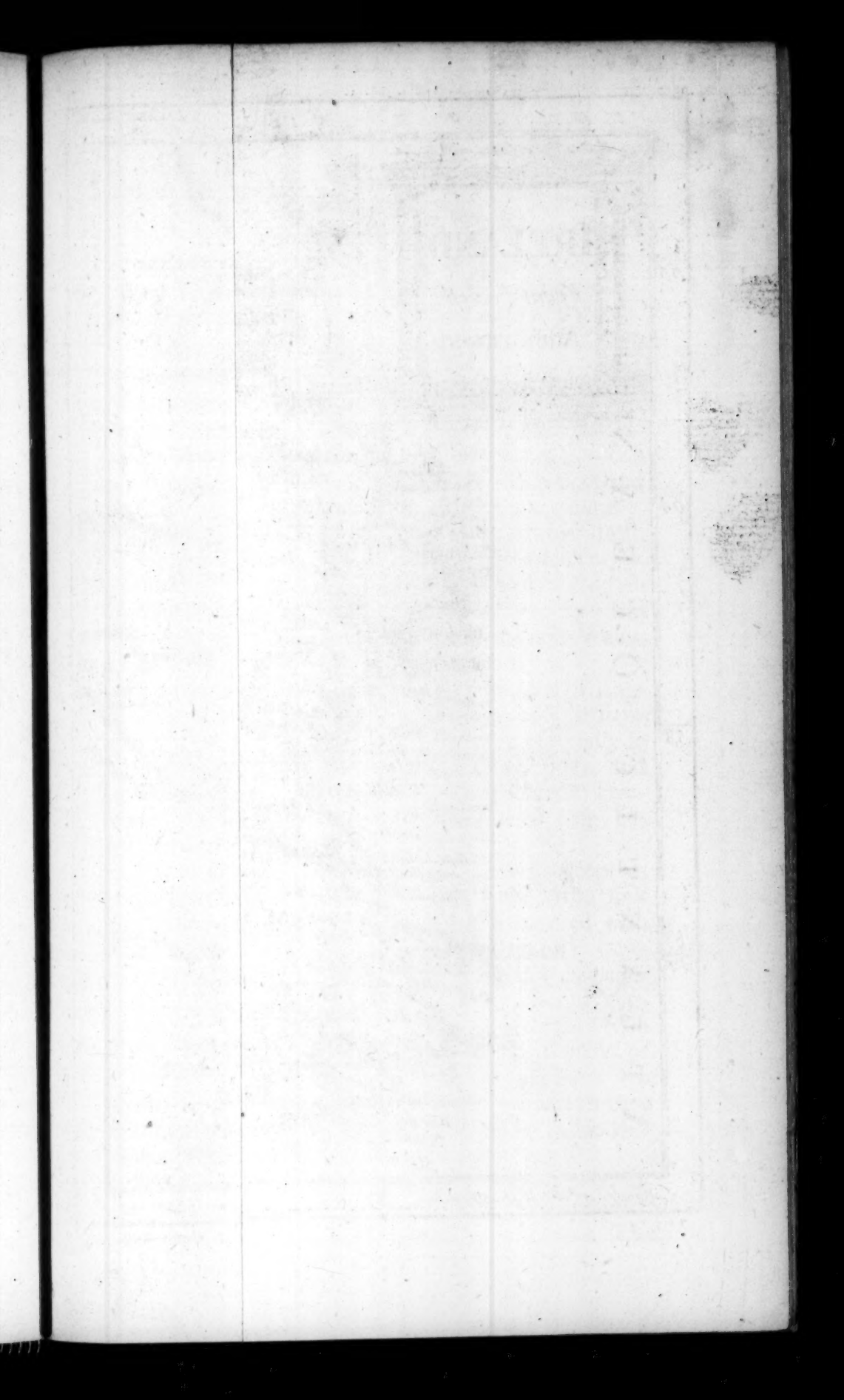


empire northward by a wall, which neither their legions, nor the trembling Britons could guard.

This might lead us to a review of the Scots in their military capacity, in which light they are truly great. Their brave defence when attacked by superior arms; their noble struggles in support of the independency and liberties of their country, when reduced to the most distressful circumstances, have gained them a reputation in the annals of Europe, that reflects honour upon their country and their name.

Such were the people whom the wisest of the English monarchs, from various motives of policy, laboured to unite with their own subjects. The Scots, as early as the reign of Charlemagne, had engaged in a league with France, and their inflexible adherence to that nation proved the source of their greatest misery; agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, were sacrificed to their darling profession of arms. Nor did England escape the unhappy consequences of this foreign alliance. At length the wisdom of Henry VII. effected by a marriage, what his predecessors had in vain endeavoured to accomplish by force of arms; and the memorable 1707 united more firmly both nations in one great kingdom. The happy effects of this great event were more easily perceived from a consideration that both nations inhabited the same island, professed the reformed religion, spoke one language, were equally distinguished for bravery, love of liberty, and a similitude in capacity and manners. Since this period, the inhabitants of both nations have mutually exerted themselves in support of the liberties of Europe and of Britain.





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Minutes of time W. from London . XI.





T. Kitchen Sculp.



# AN ACCOUNT OF IRELAND.

**I**RELAND is bounded by the Deucalionian Sea, on the north; and on the west and south by the great Atlantic Ocean, which separates it from America; and on the east, by St. George's Channel, which divides it from Britain; and is distant from Scotland not full 30 miles, and from Wales, about 60 miles. The whole area, or superficial content of this island, is computed to take up about 11,067,712 Irish acres, plantation measure; the difference between English and Irish acres, being as 16 and an half is to 21; and it is held to bear proportion to England and Wales, as 18 is to 30.

The air is much the same with those parts of England that lie under the same parallel; only in some parts it is more gross and unhealthy, especially to strangers, on account of its many lakes, bogs, and marshes. It is remarkable, that no venomous creatures can live in this country, as appears from repeated experiments.

There are some bogs in this country so deep, as entirely to swallow up a man and horse, who sink an unknown depth, though they are covered with turf, which seems to promise solid ground; however, roads have been made for horses and carriages over these dreadful bogs, by ranging rows of faggots fastened together, and covered with earth, which forms a kind of bridge that shakes under the feet of the passenger. There are other bogs that have too strong a crust of turf to be easily broken, and are constantly passed in safety, though they shake and quiver at every step of the foot.

Ireland is in general a fine level country, abounding in navigable rivers, numerous bays and harbours.

The inhabitants, aided by parliament, have of late years applied in good earnest to sundry improvements, as draining of bogs, making canals, building market-towns, inclosing the country, and enriching the soil; so that this kingdom bids fair to rival England in point of beauty and fertility. Its pastures feed prodigious numbers of cattle, whence Ireland is enabled to supply the ships of all European nations with beef and butter: but however advantageous this trade may be in one respect, it is carried on to an excess that is very prejudicial to that kingdom in general, as it causes agriculture to be neglected, which would employ many more hands, and prevent the necessity of importing corn from England, from whence Ireland is likewise supplied with potatoes, in considerable quantities.

The roads in this country are excellent; but there are few or no good inns in the kingdom.

Dublin, whether we consider it in point of extent, beauty, or the wealth of its inhabitants, claims a place among the first cities in Europe. The Liffey, which divides it, is generally covered with the ships of various nations, and the streets that run along both sides of this river, afford a very agreeable prospect.

The Irish were first converted to Christianity in the fifth century, by a zealous and devout person from \* North Britain, whom his new disciples distinguished by the name of St. Patrick. The established religion is the same as in England; but the inhabitants of the northern counties still adhere to the church of Scotland. However, the most numerous body are the Papists, who will not submit to the king's supremacy even in temporals, but place the same in a foreign jurisdiction. They have their bishops and other dignitaries, like the established church: but neither they, nor the inferior clergy of that communion, have any other revenues than the voluntary contributions of their poor disciples. It is supposed, that throughout Ire-

\* According to his own account, he was born at Kilpatric, a small village on the river Clyde, near Dumbarton.



land, there are eight Papists to one Protestant. From such a disproportion, the latter, ever since the memorable 1641, have placed their security in the military and a Protestant militia.

The present inhabitants of Ireland may be divided into three different classes; First, The original natives, who, from a similitude of language and customs, are supposed to be descended from the Britains and Caledonians; particularly the latter, who antiently inhabited the most barren parts of Scotland, and being in all ages desirous of possessing better countries than their own, it is natural to suppose that many of them might quit the bleak mountains of Argyleshire, for the more fertile plains of Ulster, being within the view of these parts. This opinion, of being antiently the same people, still prevails among the Highlanders and the Irish; and it is said, that, during the massacre of English Protestants in 1641, some proposals were made to except the Scots from this dreadful butchery. The old Irish are generally represented as an ignorant, uncivilized people. We may, at least, with equal justice represent them as the most oppressed subjects under the British government, and the only people who do not enjoy the benefits of our excellent constitution. This, however, partly proceeds from their adherence to Popery, but more especially from the inhumanity and tyranny of their more immediate landlords or leaseholders.

Human invention could not contrive a more effectual method for the instruction of these people in the real principles of Christianity, and for the inuring them to industry, labour and obedience to their sovereign, than the institution of English Protestant working-schools over the whole kingdom.

The next class of people are the descendants of the English, who, since the conquest, gradually extended themselves over the country, and to whose arts and industry Ireland is infinitely indebted; of these are most of the nobility, gentry, and merchants.

The third class are descended from a colony of Scots, who were sent thither by king James I. and inhabit Belfast, Londonderry, and a great part of the province of Ulster. These people first introduced the linen manufactory into Ireland, which has been so very beneficial to that kingdom. They are the people who so bravely defended Londonderry and Inniskillen against the Popish army under James II.

Notwithstanding these supplies from Great Britain, Ireland is in general but thinly inhabited, and according to the latest computations, does not contain above one million of people.

The inhabitants of Ireland are by no means deficient in genius and bravery. To the Irish brigades the French were indebted for their boasted victory at Fontenoy; and it cannot be yet forgot that generals of this nation led on the Austrian troops and boldly faced the greatest warrior of modern times.

Ireland is still a distinct, though a dependent, subordinate kingdom. It was only entitled the dominion or lordship of Ireland, and the king's stile was no other than *dominus Hiberniæ*, lord of Ireland, till the 33d year of king Henry VIII. when he assumed the title of King, which is recognized by act of parliament, 35 Hen. VIII. But, as Scotland and England are now one and the same kingdom, and yet differ in their municipal laws; so England and Ireland are, on the other hand, distinct kingdoms, and yet in general agree in their laws. After the conquest of Ireland by king Henry II. the laws of England were received and sworn to by the Irish nation, assembled at the council of Lismore. And as Ireland, thus conquered, planted, and governed, still continues in a state of dependence, it must necessarily conform to, and be obliged by, such laws as the superior state thinks proper to prescribe.

But this state of dependence being almost forgotten, and ready to be disputed by the Irish nation, it became

became necessary, some years ago, to declare how that matter really stood: and therefore by statute 6 Geo. I. it is declared, that the kingdom of Ireland ought to be subordinate to, and dependent upon, the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united thereto; and that the king's majesty, with the consent of the lords and commons of Great Britain in parliament, hath power to make laws to bind the people of Ireland.

The constitution of the Irish government is nearly the same with that of England. The power of the lord-lieutenant, who represents the king, is in some measure restrained, and in others enlarged, according to the king's pleasure, or the exigencies of the times. On his entering upon this honourable office, his letters patent are publicly read in the council chamber, and having taken the usual oath before the lord chancellor, the sword, which is to be carried before him, is delivered into his hands, and he is seated in the chair of state, attended by the lord chancellor, the members of the privy council, the peers and nobles, the king at arms, a serjeant at mace, and other officers of state; and he never appears publicly without being attended by a body of horse-guards. Hence, with respect to his authority, his train and splendor, there is no viceroy in Christendom that comes nearer the grandeur and majesty of a king. He has a council composed of the great officers of the crown; namely the chancellor, treasurer, and such of the archbishops, earls, bishops, barons, judges, and gentlemen, as his majesty is pleased to appoint.

The parliament here as well as in England, is the supream court, which is convened by the king's writ; but the representatives of the people enjoy their seat in the house during life, or till the death of the king. The laws are made in Ireland by the house of lords and commons, after which they are sent to England for the royal approbation; when, if approved by his majesty

majesty and council, they pass the great seal of England, and are returned. Thus the two houses of parliament make laws which bind the kingdom, raise taxes for the support of government, and for the maintenance of an army of 16,000 men, who are placed in barracks in several parts of the kingdom.

For the regular distribution of justice, there are also in Ireland, as well as in England, four terms held annually for the decision of causes; and four courts of justice, the chancery, king's-bench, common-pleas, and exchequer.

With respect to the trade of Ireland, the discouragements laid upon it by the act of navigation, and other laws made in England, are so numerous, that it cannot be expected it should flourish to such a degree as its natural situation, extended coasts, commodious harbours, bays and rivers seem to promise. The chief exports of Ireland consist of linen cloth and yarn, lawns and cambricks, which are manufactured to great perfection, and exported to considerable advantage; the English laws giving great encouragements to this branch of trade, which, with a few exceptions, may be said to be the source of all the wealth in Ireland. To these may be added, wool and woollen yarn exported to England only; beef, pork, green hides, some tanned leather, calf-skins dried, great quantities of butter, tallow, candles, ox and cow horns, ox hair, a small quantity of lead, copper-ore, herrings, dried fish, rabbit-skins, and fur; otter-skins, goat-skins, salmon, and a few other particulars. Wool and yarn are allowed to be exported only to England; but from the thirst of gain, many ship-loads are sent by stealth to France, to the great detriment of the woollen trade; and perhaps the best method of preventing it for the future, would be to restore the woollen manufacture to Ireland, at least in the coarse branches of it, and to make it the interest of the Irish to employ their wool at home.

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The Irish, however, enjoy many advantages unknown to Britons. If they are denied some privileges in trade, they are not saddled with our taxes and heavy duties. The productions of their country are cheap; in the metropolis of the kingdom beef sells at two-pence per pound, turkies at one shilling and six-pence, and a variety of fish, at a trifling rate. French claret is landed at little more than one shilling per bottle, and all other foreign commodities (that have not been blessed with a British excise) may be had in the same proportion.

With regard to the other adjacent islands which are subject to the crown of Great Britain, some of them (as the isle of Wight, of Portland, of Thanet, &c.) are comprized within some neighbouring county, and are therefore to be looked upon as annexed to the mother island, and part of the kingdom of England. Likewise the Orkneys, and many more that belong to Scotland. But there are others which require a more particular consideration.

And, first, the Isle of Man is a distinct territory from England, and is not governed by our laws; neither doth any act of parliament extend to it, unless it be particularly named therein; and then an act of parliament is binding there. It was formerly a subordinate feudatory kingdom, subject to the kings of Norway; then to king John and Henry III. of England; afterward to the kings of Scotland; and after various grants, it fell at last into the hands of the duke of Athol. But the distinct jurisdiction of this little subordinate royalty being found inconvenient for the purposes of public justice, and for the revenue (it affording a commodious asylum for debtors, outlaws, and smugglers) authority was given to the treasury by statute 12 Geo. I. c. 28. to purchase the interest of the then proprietors for the use of the crown: which purchase was at length compleated in the year 1765, and confirmed by statute 5 Geo. III. c. 26 and 39. whereby the whole island and all its dependencies, so granted as aforesaid

said (except the landed property of the Athol family, their manerial rights and emoluments, and the patronage of the bishopric, and other ecclesiastical benefices) are unalienably vested in the crown, and subjected to the regulations of the British excise and customs.

The islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Sark, Alderney, and their appendages, were parcel of the dutchy of Normandy, and were united to the crown of England by the first princes of the Norman line. They are governed by their own laws, which are, for the most part, the ducal customs of Normandy, being collected in an ancient book of very great authority, intituled, *le Grand Coustumier*. The king's writ, or process from the courts of Westminster, is there of no force; but his commission is. They are not bound by common acts of our parliaments, unless particularly named. All causes are originally determined by their own officers, the bailiffs and jurats of the islands; but an appeal lies from them to the king in council, in the last resort.

Beside these adjacent islands, our more distant plantations in America and elsewhere, are also in some respects subject to the English laws. Plantations, or colonies in distant countries, are either such where the lands are claimed by right of occupancy only, by finding them desert and uncultivated, and peopling them from the mother country; or where, when already cultivated, they have been either gained by conquest, or ceded to us by treaties. And both these rights are founded upon the law of nature, or at least upon that of nations. But there is a difference between these two species of colonies, with respect to the laws by which they are bound. For it hath been held, that if an uninhabited country be discovered and planted by English subjects, all the English laws then in being, which are the birth-right of every subject, are immediately there in force. But this must be understood with many and very great restrictions. Such colonists carry with them only so much

much of the English law, as is applicable to their own situation, and the condition of an infant colony; such, for instance, as the general rules of inheritance, and of protection from personal injuries. The artificial refinements and distinctions incident to the property of a great and commercial people, the laws of police and revenue (such especially as are enforced by penalties) the mode of maintenance for the established clergy, the jurisdiction of spiritual courts, and a multitude of other provisions, are neither necessary nor convenient for them, and therefore are not in force. What shall be admitted and what rejected, at what times, and under what restrictions, must, in case of dispute, be decided in the first instance, by their own provincial judicature, subject to the revision and control of the king in council; the whole of their constitution being also liable to be new-modelled and reformed, by the general superintending power of the legislature in the mother country. But in conquered or ceded countries, that have already laws of their own, the king may indeed alter and change those laws; but, till he does actually change them, the ancient laws of the country remain, unless such as are against the law of God, as in the case of an infidel country. Our American plantations are principally of this latter sort, being obtained in the last century, either by right of conquest, and driving out the natives (with what natural justice shall not at present be decided) or by treaties. And therefore the common law of England, as such, has no allowance or authority there; they being no part of the mother country, but distinct (though dependent) dominions. They are subject, however, to the control of the parliament; though (like Ireland, Man, and the rest) not bound by any acts of parliament, unless particularly named.

With respect to their interior polity, our colonies are properly of three sorts. 1. Provincial establishments, the constitutions of which depend on the respective commissions issued by the crown to the governors,

vernors, and the instructions which usually accompany those commissions; under the authority of which, provincial assemblies are constituted, with the power of making local ordinances, not repugnant to the laws of England. 2. Proprietary governments, granted out by the crown to individuals, in the nature of feudatory principalities, with all the inferior regalities, and subordinate powers of legislation, which formerly belonged to the owners of counties palatine: yet still with these express conditions, that the ends for which the grant was made, be substantially pursued, and that nothing be attempted, which may derogate from the sovereignty of the mother country. 3. Charter governments, in the nature of civil corporations, with the power of making bye-laws for their own interior regulation, not contrary to the laws of England; and with such rights and authorities as are specially given them in their several charters of incorporation. The form of government in most of them is borrowed from that of England. They have a governor named by the king (or in some proprietary colonies by the proprietor) who is his representative or deputy. They have courts of justice of their own, from whose decisions an appeal lies to the king in council here in England. Their general assemblies, which are their houses of commons, together with their councils of state, being their upper houses, with the concurrence of the king or his representative the governor, make laws suited to their own emergencies. But it is particularly declared by statute 7 and 8 W. III. c. 22. that all laws, bye-laws, usages, and customs, which shall be in practice in any of the plantations, repugnant to any law, made or to be made in this kingdom relative to the said plantations, shall be utterly void and of none effect. And, because several of the colonies had claimed the sole and exclusive right of imposing taxes upon themselves, the statute 6 Geo. III. c. 12. expressly declares, that all his majesty's colonies and plantations



tations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be, subordinate to and dependent upon the imperial crown and parliament of Great Britain; who have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever.

These are the several parts of the dominions of the crown of Great Britain, in which the municipal laws of England are not of force or authority, merely as the municipal laws of England. Most of them have probably copied the spirit of their own law from this original; but then it receives its obligation, and authoritative force, from being the law of the country.

As to any foreign dominions which may belong to the person of the king by hereditary descent, by purchase, or other acquisition, as the territory of Hanover, and his majesty's other property in Germany; as these do not in any wise appertain to the crown of these kingdoms, they are entirely unconnected with the laws of England, and do not communicate with this nation in any respect whatsoever. The English legislature had wisely remarked the inconveniencies that had formerly resulted from dominions on the continent of Europe; from the Norman territory which William the Conqueror brought with him, and held in conjunction with the English throne; and from Anjou, and its appendages, which fell to Henry II. by hereditary descent. They had seen the nation engaged for near four hundred years together in ruinous wars for defence of these foreign dominions; till, happily for this country, they were lost under the reign of Henry VI. They observed, that, from that time, the maritime interests of England were better understood, and more closely pursued: that, in consequence of this attention, the nation, as soon as she had rested from her civil wars, began at this period

period to flourish all at once; and became much more considerable in Europe, than when her princes were possessed of a larger territory, and her councils distracted by foreign interests. This experience, and these considerations, gave birth to a conditional clause in the act of settlement, which vested the crown in his present majesty's illustrious house, "That in case the crown and imperial dignity of this realm shall hereafter come to any person not being a native of this kingdom of England, this nation shall not be obliged to engage in any war for the defence of any dominions or territories which do not belong to the crown of England, without consent of parliament."

[AFTER this review of the British empire, we have, though not introduced by any historical narrative, given a view of the English dress at two remarkable periods, which when compared with that of our own times, may amuse some of our readers.]

## A SHORT



*Habit of a Wealthy Merchant of London in 1588.*



Hall.

Ha





*Habit of a Nobleman of England, in 1640.*



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Habit of the Lady Mayoress of London in 1640. Hall sc.



Ha





*Habit of an Oliverian an English Partisan in 1650.*



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A  
S H O R T V I E W  
O F T H E  
N A V A L T R A N S A C T I O N S  
O F  
B R I T A I N :

Beginning with the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, and  
ending with the PEACE of VERSAILLES in 1762.

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**T**HE extensive commerce of Great Britain having increased her riches and power, and thence enabled her to acquire a very respectable influence among the European states; some of them much her superiors in extent of territory and numbers of people: it is a very natural subject of inquiry to ask what peculiar circumstances operated so happily in her favour? In this investigation, it will not be long before it is discovered, that whatever causes beside might co-operate; the prosperity of Britain is primarily owing to its insular situation; and to its being an island of such a size, as to possess sufficient internal strength to make proper improvement of its exterior advantages.

These advantages were indeed enjoyed but in part, before the two kingdoms understood their mutual interest so well as to unite together in one empire. England, it is true, was always formidable before; but it is since that happy period that Great Britain has shone with superior lustre; and shewn, what a

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brave and a free people, so fortunately situated, can perform, under prudent conduct, for their common interest.

After a general collection of voyages and travels, in which we have ranged the globe at large, and informed ourselves concerning distant nations; as we find our own island so peculiarly calculated for a maritime power, and so eminently distinguished as one; it will certainly be a very interesting amusement to a British reader, to trace, in a historical view, those signal naval transactions, from which our mariners have derived so much glory, and our country such capital emoluments, and such ascendancy on the ocean.

England from the earliest ages was distinguished as a maritime nation, compared with her cotemporaries at the several periods. But it was not until the time of Queen Elizabeth, that the constitution began to settle; and a commercial interest to take place of the old feudal system. This inspired the government with a vigour heretofore little known; the effects of which were shewn to great advantage under the resolute princess with whom we shall commence a review of the British marine.

PERHAPS there never was a kingdom in a more distressed condition than England, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth. It was engaged in a war abroad for the interest of a foreign prince; at home the people were divided and distracted about their religious and civil concerns. Those of the reformed religion had been lately exposed to the flames, and those of the Roman community found themselves now in a declining state. On the continent we had no allies; in this very island the Scots were enemies, and their queen claimed the English crown. The exchequer was exhausted; most of the forts and castles throughout the kingdom mouldering into ruins; at sea we had lost much of our ancient reputation; and a too sharp



sharp sense of their misfortunes, had dejected the whole nation to the last degree.

Elizabeth was about twenty-five years of age, had quick parts, an excellent education, much prudence, and withal, what she inherited from her father, a high and haughty spirit, qualified by a warm and tender affection for her people, and an absolute contempt of those pleasures, by the indulging which, princes are too commonly misled. She received the compliments on her accession, with majesty; and she supported her dignity even in her dying moments.

The first act of the queen's government was asserting her independency. She made an order in council, in the preamble of which it was recited, that the distresses of the kingdom were chiefly owing to the influence of foreign counsels in the late reign; and therefore the queen thought fit to declare, that she was a free princess, and meant so to act, without any farther applications to Spain, than the concerns of her people absolutely required. On the twenty-first of November, when she had worn the crown but three days, she sent orders to vice-admiral Malyn, to draw together as many ships as he could for the defence of the narrow seas, and for preventing likewise all persons from entering into, or passing out of the kingdom without licence; which he performed so strictly, that in a short time the council were forced to relax their orders, and to signify to the warden of the Cinque-ports, that the queen meant not to imprison her subjects, but that persons might pass and repass about their lawful concerns.

With like diligence, provision was made for the security of Dover, Portsmouth, and the Isle of Wight, so that by the end of the year, the kingdom was out of all danger from any sudden insult, and the queen at leisure to consider how she might farther strengthen it, so as to render all the projects of her enemies abortive. Her entrance on government had the same appearance of wisdom as if she had been years upon the

throne, and the hopes raised by her first actions were supported and even exceeded by the steadiness of her conduct; so that by a firm and uniform behaviour she secured the reverence and affection of her subjects at home, and established a character abroad that prevented any immediate enterprizes upon her dominions in that feeble and fluctuating condition in which she found them.

In the month of April 1559, peace was concluded with France; and therein, amongst other things, it was provided, that, after the term of eight years, the French should render to the queen the town of Calais, or pay her fifty thousand crowns by way of penalty. In this treaty, the Dauphin and the queen of Scots were also included: but this was very indifferently performed; for the French immediately began to send over great forces into Scotland, where they intended, first to root out the protestant religion, and then to have made themselves entirely masters of the kingdom. This proceeding so alarmed the nobility of Scotland, that they applied for protection to Queen Elizabeth; who foreseeing the consequence of suffering the French to establish an interest in Scotland, determined to send thither assistance both by land and sea.

In the mean time a strict but legal inquiry was made into the loss of Calais in the late reign. The Lord Wentworth, on whom many aspersions had fallen, was very fairly tried and honourably acquitted by his peers; but the captains Chamberlain and Harleston, were condemned, though the queen thought fit to pardon them. As for Lord Grey, his gallant defence of the fortress, wherein he was governor, exempted him from any prosecution; instead of which, he was appointed commander in chief of the forces that were to march into Scotland. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Winter, which sailed up the Frith of Forth, blocked up Leith by sea, while the army of the Scots lords, and the English auxiliaries under  
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Lord Grey, besieged it by land, and in a very short space forced the French garrison to capitulate. Thus all the designs of France on that side, were entirely broken, and the queen left to look to her own concerns, which she did with such diligence, that in two years space, religion was restored, the principal grievances felt under the former government redressed; base money taken away, the forts throughout the kingdom repaired, and trade brought into a flourishing condition.

But above all, the navy was the queen's peculiar care; she directed a most exact survey of it to be made, a very strict enquiry into the causes of its decay, and the surest means by which it might be recovered. She issued orders for preserving timber fit for building, directed many pieces of brass cannon to be cast, and encouraged the making gunpowder here at home, which had been hitherto brought from abroad at a vast expence. For the security of her fleet, which generally lay in the river Medway, she built a strong fortress, called Upnore-Castle. The wages of the seamen she raised, enlarged the number, and augmented the salaries of her naval officers; drew over foreigners skilled in the arts relating to navigation, to instruct her people, and by the pains she took in these affairs, excited a spirit of emulation among her subjects, who began every where to exert themselves in like manner, by repairing of ports, and building vessels of all sizes, especially large and stout ships, fit for war, as well as commerce. From all which, as Mr. Camden tells us, the queen justly acquired the glorious title of the RESTORER of NAVAL POWER, and SOVEREIGN of the NORTHERN SEAS; in-somuch, that foreign nations were struck with awe at the queen's proceedings, and were now willing respectfully to court a power, which had been so lately the object of their contempt.

The civil dissensions in the kingdom of France, which gave the court a pretence for oppressing those

of the reformed religion, whom they called Huguenots, produced in the year 1562, very destructive consequences to their neighbours. The French protestants had long sued to Elizabeth for protection, and offered to put the port of Havre de Grace, then called Newhaven, into her hands; which she at length accepted, and sent over Ambrose Dudley, earl of Warwick, in the month of September 1562, with a considerable fleet, and a good body of troops on board, who entered into the town, and kept possession of it till the twenty-ninth of July following.

The taking into our hands this place, proved of infinite detriment to the French; for the court having declared all English ships good prize, so long as the queen held that port, she found herself obliged to issue a like proclamation; whereupon, such numbers of privateers were fitted out from English ports, and from Newhaven, that the spoil they made is almost incredible. A maritime power injured, instead of expostulating, immediately makes reprisals, and thereby extorts apologies from the aggressors made sensible of their past mistake. But by degrees this spirit of privateering grew to such a height, that the queen for her own safety, and the honour of the nation, was obliged to restrain it.

Philip II. of Spain, from the time of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne, had dealt with her very deceitfully, sometimes pretending to be her firm friend, at others, seeking every occasion to injure and molest her subjects, which he had more frequent opportunities of doing, from the great commerce they carried on in Flanders. Yet, while these things disturbed the nation's tranquillity in a certain degree, France and the Low Countries, were much more grievously torn through religious disputes, which by degrees kindled a civil war. The protestants being the weakest, and withal the most injured party, the queen was inclined to favour them, and to afford them some assistance, though she was not willing absolutely



to break either with the most Christian, or with the Catholic king.

In the midst of these difficulties, the queen took every opportunity to encourage her people, in prosecuting new schemes of trade abroad, or pursuing what might be an improvement of their lands at home. With this view she sometimes contributed ships, sometimes gave money, at others, entered into partnership: in short, she neglected nothing which might shew her maternal tenderness for all her subjects.

The provinces of Zealand and Holland had now delivered themselves from the Spanish bondage, and were growing considerable in the world by their maritime power. This however, had a bad effect on the disposition of the common people, who became insufferably insolent to all their neighbours, and particularly to us who had been their principal benefactors. Their pretence for this was, our corresponding with the inhabitants of Dunkirk, who were their enemies. At first, therefore, they took only such ships as were bound to that port; but by degrees they went farther, and committed such notorious piracies, that the queen was again forced to send the comptroller of the navy, Mr. Holstock, with a small squadron to sea, who quickly drove the Dutch frigates into their harbours, and sent two hundred of their seamen to prison. The queen, not satisfied with this punishment, sent Sir William Winter, and Robert Beale, Esq; to demand restitution of the goods taken from her subjects; which, however, they did not obtain; and on this account the Dutch factors here suffered severely.

But as for such refugees of all nations, as fled hither for the sake of religion, she not only received them kindly, but granted them various privileges, in order to induce them to stay, and fix here the manufactures in which they had laboured in their own countries. This policy succeeded so well, that Colchester, Norwich,

wich, Yarmouth, Canterbury, and many other places were filled with those industrious foreigners, who taught us to weave variety of silk and worsted stuffs; while many also from Germany were sent into the North, where they employed themselves in mining, making salt-petre, forging all sorts of tools made of iron, which were arts absolutely unknown to us before their arrival.

The growth of this kingdom's power and commerce, being so conspicuous, left King Philip of Spain, the most penetrating prince of his time, no room to doubt, that his projects for assuming the supreme dominion of Europe, or at least the absolute direction of it, would be rendered entirely abortive, unless some method could be contrived for ruining England at once. The catholic king had three points in view, not for distressing only, but for destroying Queen Elizabeth, and utterly subverting the English state. The first of these was, uniting against her, under colour of religion, most of the princes and states abroad; which, by the assistance of the pope, joined to his own extensive influence, he, in a good measure, effected. His second point was, perplexing the queen at home, by countenancing the popish faction, and by maintaining, at a vast expence, such fugitives as fled from hence, in which he was likewise for some time successful. The last thing King Philip had at heart was the providing, as secretly as might be, such a force as, with the assistance of his other schemes, might enable him to make himself entirely master of England at once: to which end he with great diligence sought to increase his maritime power, and upon the pretence of his wars in the Netherlands, to keep under the command of the prince of Parma, one of the ablest generals that, or perhaps any age ever produced, such an army in constant readiness there, as might be sufficient to achieve this conquest, when he should have a fleet strong enough to protect them in their passage. In the prosecution

secution of these deep laid projects, Philip met with many favourable circumstances, which might, and very probably did, strongly flatter his hopes: particularly, the death of the queen of Scots, which stained the character of Elizabeth in foreign courts; and his own acquisition of the kingdom of Portugal, by which he gained a vast accession of naval strength.

Queen Elizabeth and her ministers, were too penetrating, and had too quick, as well as certain intelligence, to be at all in the dark, as to the purpose of the king of Spain; and their prudence was such, that by every method possible, they prepared to disappoint him, without disclosing their apprehensions to the world. With this intent they laboured to convince foreign states, that King Philip was a common enemy, and that he aimed alike at subduing all his neighbours; which being also strictly true, had, undoubtedly, a proper weight. In the next place, pains were taken to cultivate a closer correspondence with his discontented subjects in the Netherlands, and to furnish them with money, and secretly with other aids, whereby they were enabled to give some check to his power, both by sea and land. Our own privateers were allowed to pass into the West Indies, where they carried on an illicit trade, not more to their own profit than the public benefit: for, by this means, they gained a perfect acquaintance with the ports, rivers, and fortresses in the West Indies, with the nature of the commerce transacted there, the method of sharing it by fair means, or of destroying it by force. Thus, notwithstanding their immense wealth, and extensive dominions, the English were in some measure a match for the Spaniards, in all places and at all points.

But still, the great secret by which the queen defeated all King Philip's political inventions, seems to have been scarcely known, to most of the writers, who have undertaken to acquaint us with the transactions of her reign. It was in reality this; she discovered  
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the principal instruments he intended to make use of for her destruction; but instead of exposing or destroying them, she contrived so to manage them by her creatures, as to make them actually fulfill her purposes, though they remained all the time tools and pensioners to Spain.

The queen's apprehensions of the Spaniard's designs, were certainly conceived much earlier than most of our historians imagine, as appears from the state-papers in her reign; among which, from the year 1574, we meet with nothing more frequent, than instructions for viewing fortifications, examining the condition of our forts, enquiring into the strength, and posture of our militia, taking frequent musters; and, in fine, forming from all these enquiries, a brief state of the military and naval power of her dominions: whereby it appears, that the able men throughout England, were computed to be one hundred, eighty-two thousand, nine hundred, twenty-nine, by which were intended serviceable men; and of such as were armed, and in a continual capacity of acting, there were sixty-two thousand, four hundred, and sixty-two; and of light-horse two thousand five hundred sixty-six. In an account of the royal navy in 1578, it also appears, that it consisted of no more than twenty-four ships of all sizes. The largest was called the *Triumph*, of the burthen of a thousand tons; the smallest was the *George*, which was under sixty tons. At the same time, all the ships throughout England, of an hundred tons and upward, were but one hundred thirty-five; and all under an hundred, and upward of forty tons, were six hundred and sixty-six.

It must give every candid and attentive reader a very high idea of the wisdom and fortitude of Queen Elizabeth, and her ministers, when he is told, that during the whole time Spain was providing so formidable an invasion, they were assiduously employed in cherishing the commerce and naval power of England;



land; without suffering themselves to be at all intimidated, either by the enemy's boasts, or by the intelligence they had of their great strength and vast preparations. To distress King Philip in bringing home his treasures from the West Indies, many adventurers were licensed to cruise in those seas, and the queen herself lent some ships for this purpose. To delay the invasion as much as possible, or if it had been practicable, to defeat it, the queen sent a stout fleet under Sir Francis Drake, in 1587, to Cadiz; where that admiral performed rather more than could be expected: for he forced six gallies which were designed to have guarded the port, to shelter themselves under the cannon of their castles, and then burnt a hundred ships and upward in the bay, all of which were laden with ammunition and provisions. From thence he sailed to Cape St. Vincent, where he surprized some forts, and entirely destroyed the fishing craft in the neighbourhood.

Arriving at the mouth of the Tayo, and understanding that the Marquis de Santa Cruz lay hard by, with a squadron of good ships, he challenged him to come out and fight; but the marquis, who was one of the best seamen in Spain, adhering closely to his master's orders, chose rather to let Drake burn and destroy every thing on the coast than hazard an engagement. Sir Francis, having done this, steered for the Azores, where he took a large ship homeward bound from the East Indies, which added as much to his profit, as his former glorious exploits had done to his reputation; and so returned home in triumph. This expedition delayed the Spaniards for some months; but in the spring of the next year, his enormous fleet being almost ready, King Philip gave orders that it should rendezvous at Lisbon, in order to pass from thence to England.

His catholic majesty presumed so much on the force of this extraordinary fleet, superior certainly to any thing that had been fitted out for ages before, that  
instead

instead of concealing its strength, he caused a very accurate account of it to be published in Latin, and most of the languages spoken in Europe, except English. This piece was dated May 20th, 1588; and according to it, the most happy Armada, as it was therein stiled, (afterward christened by the pope the Invincible Armada) consisted of 130 ships, in all 57,868 tons; on board which were 8450 mariners, 19,295 foldiers, 2088 slaves, and 2630 pieces of cannon. Beside, there was a large fleet of tenders, with a prodigious quantity of arms on board, intended for such as should join them. There were also on board this fleet 124 volunteers of quality, and about 180 monks of several orders.

The command of the whole was originally designed to have been vested in the abovementioned marquis de Santa Cruz, a nobleman of known valour, and great experience, of which he had given high proofs in the famous battle of Lepanto: but he dying, the duke of Medina Sidonia, Don Alphonso de Gusman, was appointed in his stead, rather on account of his superior quality than his distinguished merit. Under him served Don Martinez de Ricalde, an old experienced Biscaneer, who had the direction of all things, and by whose advice the general was entirely led.

In the first place, the queen took care to give proper information to all foreign states, of the nature and intent of this project of the king of Spain's, pointing out to them, not her own, but their danger, in case that monarch should prevail; which method being as prudently carried into practice, as it was wisely contrived, the king of Denmark, at the request of her ambassador, laid an embargo on a very strong squadron of ships hired for the use of King Philip in his dominions. The Hanse-Towns, determined enemies at that time to England, retarded, however, the ships they were to have sent to Spain, which, though a very seasonable act of prudence then, proved fatal to them afterward. King James VI. of Scotland  
buried

buried all his resentments for his mother's death, and steadily adhered to his own, by following the queen's interests. The French were too wise to afford the Spaniards any help; and the Dutch fitted out a considerable navy, for the service of the queen, under the command of Count Justin of Nassau.

A List of the English Fleet, under the Command of Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord High Admiral.

Men of war belonging to her majesty,	17
Other ships hired by her majesty for this service,	12
Tenders and store-ships,	6
Furnished by the city of London, being double the number the queen demanded, all well- manned, and throughly provided with am- munition and provision,	16
Tenders and store-ships,	4
Furnished by the city of Bristol, large and strong ships, and which did excellent service,	3
A tender,	1
From Barnstaple, merchant-ships converted into frigates,	3
From Exeter,	2
A stout pinnace,	1
From Plymouth, stout ships, every way equal to the queen's men of war,	7
A fly-boat,	1
Under the command of Lord Henry Seymour, in the narrow seas, of the queen's ships and vessels in her service,	16
Ships fitted out at the expence of the nobility, gentry, and commons of England,	43
By the merchant-adventurers, prime ships, and excellently well furnished,	10
Sir William Winter's pinnace,	1
In all	143
The	

The list at large given by Mr. Entick, makes them amount to 197 ships. The quantity of guns carried by the English fleet is not to be found; but though we outnumbered the Spaniards in vessels, the English fleet was greatly inferior both in tonnage, and in the number of men.

The English fleet was commanded by Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, then high-admiral, who had under him for his vice-admiral, Sir Francis Drake; for his rear-admiral, Sir John Hawkins, and abundance of experienced officers, who had signalized their courage and conduct: their orders were to lie on the western coast, that they might be ready to receive the enemy. Lord Henry Seymour, in conjunction with Count Nassau, cruized on the coast of Flanders, the better to prevent the prince of Parma from making any descent, as it was expected he would attempt to do with the army under his command.

In regard to a land-force, the queen had three armies; the first consisted of 20,000 men, cantoned along the southern coast; another of 22,000 foot and 1000 horse, which was encamped near Tilbury, under the command of the earl of Leicester; the third, which was made up of 34,000 foot, and 2000 horse, all chosen men, was for the guard of the queen's person, their commander being the Lord Hunsdon, a brave, active, and resolute nobleman, the queen's near relation.

The Spanish fleet sailed from the river of Lisbon, on the first of June, N. S. with as great pomp, and as sanguine hopes, as any fleet ever did. The king's instructions to the duke of Medina Sidonia, were to repair to the road of Calais, in order to be joined there by the prince of Parma, and then to pursue such further orders as he should find in a sealed letter delivered to the general with his instructions. It was further recommended to him, to keep as close as possible to the French shore, in order to prevent the English from having any intelligence of his approach; and



and in case he met our fleet, he was to avoid fighting to the utmost of his power, and to endeavour only to defend himself. But in doubling the North-cape, the fleet was separated by foul weather, which obliged the general to sail to the Groyne, where he re-assembled his ships, and had intelligence, that the English fleet, believing their expedition laid aside, was put into Plymouth.

Upon this he held a council of war, to consider whether they should adhere strictly to the king's order, or embrace this favourable opportunity of burning the English fleet in their harbour; an attempt certainly not impracticable. After a long debate, wherein many were of a contrary opinion, it was resolved to attempt the English fleet; and this chiefly at the instigation of Don Diego Flores de Valdes, admiral of the Andalusian squadron. The pretence, indeed, was very plausible; and, but for an unforeseen accident, they had certainly carried their point. The first land they fell in with was the Lizard, which they mistook for the Ram's-head near Plymouth; and being toward night, stood off to sea, till the next morning. In this space of time they were descried by a Scots pirate, one Captain Fleming, who bore away immediately for Plymouth, and gave the lord admiral notice; which proved the utter ruin of their design, as well as the sole cause of the preservation of the English fleet.

The season was so far advanced, and the English had so little intelligence of the Spaniard's departure, that their fleet was not only returned into port, but several of their ships also were already laid up, and their seamen discharged. The admiral, however, failed on the first notice, and though the wind blew hard into Plymouth Sound, got out to sea, with great difficulty. The next day, being the 20th of July, they saw the Spanish navy drawn up in a half-moon, sailing slowly through the channel, its wings being near seven miles asunder. The admiral suffered them  
to

to pass by quietly, that, having the advantage of the wind, he might the better attack them in the rear; which he performed with equal courage and success: and though Don Martinez de Ricalde, did all that it was possible for a brave officer to do, yet they were put into the utmost disorder, and many of them received considerable damage. More had been done, but that a great part of the English fleet lay at too great a distance, so that the admiral was forced to wait for them.

The night following, a Dutch gunner, who had been ill treated by some Spanish officers, set fire to the ship on board which was their treasure; nor was it without great difficulty, that the flames were extinguished. The greatest part of the money was put on board a galleon commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, which soon after sprung her foremast; and being thus disabled, and the night very dark, fell into the hands of Sir Francis Drake. He sent her captain to Dartmouth, and left the money on board to be plundered by his men. The next day was spent by the Spanish general in disposing his fleet, issuing orders to his officers, and dispatching an advice-boat to hasten the duke of Parma; by giving him an account of the great loss he had already suffered, and the extrem danger he was in. On the twenty-third they fought again, with variety of success, which however demonstrated to the Spaniards, that the mighty bulk of their ships was a disadvantage to them, their shot flying over the heads of the English, while every bullet of theirs took place.

On the twenty-fourth, the English were able to do little for want of ammunition; but a supply arriving in the evening, the admiral made all necessary dispositions for attacking the Spaniards in the midst of the night; dividing his fleet into four squadrons, the first commanded by himself, the second by Sir Francis Drake, the third by Admiral Hawkins, and the fourth by Captain Martin Frobisher; but a dead calm prevented

vented the execution of his design. On the twenty-fifth, one of the Spanish ships was taken; and on the twenty-sixth, the admiral resolved to make no further attempts upon them, till they should enter the streights of Dover, where he knew Lord Henry Seymour, and Sir William Winter, waited for them with a fresh squadron. He also took this opportunity of knighting Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsend, Admiral Hawkins, and Captain Frobisher, for their gallant behaviour throughout the engagement.

The wind favouring the Spanish fleet, they continued their course up the channel, with the English ships close in their rear. The strength of the Spaniards had not only alarmed, but excited the courage of the whole nation; insomuch, that every man of quality and fortune was ambitious of distinguishing himself, by appearing upon this occasion, against the common enemy. With this public spirited view, the earls of Oxford, Northumberland, and Cumberland, Sir Thomas Cecil, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Thomas Vavasor, and many others, fitted out ships at their own expence, and went, most of them in person, to attend the admiral. Men of lower rank shewed their zeal and loyalty by sending ammunition and provisions; and so unanimous were all men against these foreigners, that even the papists, whom the Spaniards expected to have found in arms, were glad to wipe away the aspersions which had been thrown upon them, by serving as common soldiers.

When, therefore, the Spanish fleet anchored on the twenty-seventh of July before Calais, the English admiral had with him near a hundred and forty ships, which enabled him to gall the enemy extreamly. But, perceiving on the twenty-eighth, that the Spaniards had so disposed their larger ships, that it would be a very difficult matter to put them again into disorder, he resolved to practise an expedient long before in contemplation in case the enemy should have

come up the river Thames; which was converting some of their worst vessels into fire-ships. This method he accordingly pursued, filling eight large barks with all sorts of combustible matter, and sending them under the command of the Captains Young and Prowse, about midnight, into the thickest part of the Spanish fleet, where they speedily began to blaze; and, as the admiral had foreseen, obliged the navy to separate, and each ship, by steering a different course, to seek its own safety. This is the first account we meet with of fire-ships being used in sea-engagements.

The next day a large galeass ran ashore on the sands of Calais, where she was plundered by the English. Desirous, however, of attempting somewhat, the Spaniards again rendezvoused near Graveling; where they waited some time, in hopes the prince of Parma would have come out: but in this they were disappointed, whether through the want of power, or of will, in that great general, is uncertain. At last, finding themselves hard pressed by the English fleet, which continued to make a terrible fire upon them, they made a bold attempt, to have retreated through the streights of Dover: but the wind, coming about with hard gales at north-west, drove them on the coast of Zealand; but soon after steering to the south-west, they tacked and got out of danger. The duke de Medina Sidonia took this opportunity of calling a council of war; wherein, after mature deliberation, it was resolved, that there were now no hopes left of succeeding, and therefore, the most prudent thing they could do, was to drop their design and to save as many ships as possible.

This resolution being once fixed, was immediately carried into execution, and the whole Spanish navy made all the sail they could for their own coast, going north about, which exposed them to variety of unforeseen dangers. The English admiral very prudently sent Lord Henry Seymour with a strong squadron



drón to cruize on the coast of Zealand, to prevent any danger from their joining with the prince of Parma, and afterward left them to pursue their course. When the Spanish fleet arrived on the Scots coast, and found that care was every where taken they should meet with no supply, they threw their horses and mules overboard; and such of them as had a proper store of water, bore away directly for the bay of Biscay, with the duke of Medina Sidonia, making in all about twenty-five ships. The rest, about forty sail, under the command of the vice-admiral, stood over for the coast of Ireland, intending to have watered at Cape Clare. On the second of September, however, a tempest arose, and drove most of them ashore, so that upward of thirty ships, and many thousand men, perished on the Irish coast.

Some likewise were forced a second time into the English channel, where they were taken, some by the English, and some by the Rochellers. Several very large vessels were lost among the western isles, and upon the coast of Argyleshire. Out of these, about five hundred persons were saved; who came into Edinburgh, in a manner naked; and, out of mere charity, were cloathed by the inhabitants of that city; who also attempted to send them home to Spain. But, as if misfortunes were always to attend them, they were forced in their passage upon the coast of Norfolk, and obliged to put into Yarmouth; where they stayed, till advice was given to the queen and council: who considering the miseries they had already felt, and not willing to appear less compassionate than the Scots, suffered them to continue their voyage.

Thus, in the short space of a month, this mighty fleet, which had been no less than three years preparing, was destroyed and brought to nothing. Of one hundred and thirty ships, there returned but fifty-three or four; and of the people embarked there perished twenty thousand men at least. We may best

form an idea of their loss, from the precaution taken by King Philip to hide it, which was publishing a proclamation to prohibit mourning. As to the courage and constancy he expressed upon this occasion, it is certain, that the lord treasurer Burleigh received intelligence "That the king should say, after mass, "that he would spend the wealth of Spain," to one of "those candlesticks upon the altar, rather than not "revenge himself upon the English." His future conduct agreed so exactly with this threatening, that we may well conclude, if he did not say, he thought so, and was therefore far from being so unmoved at this disaster as is commonly reported. What might in some measure justify his resentment, was, the falling out of this mischief, through the breach of his orders, which is well remarked by a writer of our own: for, if the king's instructions had been pursued, it is more than probable, that Queen Elizabeth's government had run the utmost hazard of being overturned.

The duke of Medina Sidonia escaped punishment, through the interest of his wife; but as for Don Diego Flores de Valdez, whose persuasions induced the general to take that rash step, he was arrested as soon as he set foot on shore, and conducted to the castle of St. Andero; after which, he was never heard of more. The same writer, from whom we have this particular, remarks also an error in the conduct of the English; viz. that they did not attack the Spanish fleet after it arrived before Graveling; which, however, he assures us, was not through any fault in the admiral, but was occasioned through the negligence of some under-officers, who had the direction of the military stores, and had been too sparing of powder and ammunition. Otherwise, he tells us, it was thought, the duke de Medina Sidonia, at the persuasion of his confessor, would have yielded both himself and his ships, which, it seems, were, in that particular, not at all better provided. This would have

have been a conquest indeed, a conquest equally glorious and important, the loss of which, ought to teach posterity, not to be too hasty in censuring great officers, or too remiss in punishing little ones.

The queen having intelligence that the Spaniards meditated a second attempt upon her dominions, resolved, like a wise princess, to find them work at home; in order to which, in the spring of the year 1589, she expressed her royal intention of assisting Don Antonio to recover his kingdom of Portugal. The expedition was undertaken partly at the queen's charge, and partly at the expence of private persons. Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Norris, were joint commanders; and the whole navy consisted of 146 sail. To which also the Dutch, as much interested as we, joined a small squadron.

This armament landed near Corunna, commonly called the Groyne, which place they attacked, burnt the adjacent country, together with many magazines of naval stores: they then reembarked their forces, and sailed, as they had at first designed, for the river of Lisbon. On their arrival before Peniche, the troops were landed; the place quickly surrendered to Don Antonio; and from thence the whole army marched by land toward Lisbon; where they expected to have met the fleet under the command of Sir Francis Drake: but he finding it impossible to proceed up the river with safety to her majesty's ships, staid at the castle of Calcais, which place he took, and also seized sixty sail of ships belonging to the Hanse-Towns, laden with corn and ammunition; which, with about 150 pieces of cannon, were the principal fruits of this voyage. It was indeed, intended, to have gone to the Canaries; but by this time the soldiers and sailors were so weakened with sickness, that it was thought more expedient to return. In their passage home they landed at Vigo, took and plundered it; and having made some addition to their booty, reached England; after having been about ten weeks abroad.

This expedition was inexpressibly destructive to the Spaniards, disappointed all their designs, weakened their naval force, and spread a mighty terror of the English arms through their whole dominions. But as to any advantages which the proprietors reaped, they were but very inconsiderable; and the generals met with a cold reception in England. The chief grounds of their miscarriage were in those days, when men could best judge, held to be these. First, They were but indifferently manned and victualled. Secondly, Their landing at the Groyne was contrary to their instructions; gave the men an opportunity of drinking new wines, and exposed them to a great and unnecessary loss. Thirdly, The disagreement of the generals before Lisbon, defeated the remaining part of their design; whereas, if in pursuance of their instructions, they had sailed directly to the coasts of Portugal, and landed their forces there, it is more than probable, they had effectually placed Don Antonio upon the throne of Portugal, which would have given a deadly stroke to the power of Spain.

The disappointments which happened in this voyage, did not discourage either the queen or her subjects from pursuing the war by sea. In order to this, her majesty settled a part of her revenue for the ordinary supply of the navy, amounting to about nine thousand pounds a year: and by expressing a very high esteem for such young lords, and other persons of distinction, as had shewn an inclination to the sea-service, she encouraged others to undertake yet greater things. Amongst these, the earl of Cumberland particularly distinguished himself by fitting out a stout squadron, in the summer of the year 1589, with which he sailed to the Tercera islands, where he did the Spaniards incredible mischief, and obtained considerable advantages for himself, and for his friends.

In 1590, Sir John Hawkins and Sir Martin Frobisher were at sea with two squadrons; and by impeding the return of the Spanish plate-fleets from America,



America, and other services, kept King Philip entirely employed at home, though his thoughts were still busy in contriving another expedition against England. The succeeding year, Lord Thomas Howard, second son to the duke of Norfolk, sailed with a squadron to the islands, in hopes of intercepting the Spanish fleet from the West Indies, which now was forced to return home. In this he had probably succeeded, if his force had been greater; but having no more than seven of the queen's ships, and about as many fitted out by private adventurers, he very narrowly escaped being totally destroyed by the Spaniards.

In 1591, the earl of Cumberland made another expedition: and in 1592, Sir Martin Frobisher, and Sir John Boroughs, infested the Spanish coast, and did much mischief. In 1594, the queen sent a small squadron to sea, under the command of Sir Martin Frobisher, to reduce the port of Brest in Bretagne, which the king of Spain had taken, by the assistance of the Leaguers in France, from King Henry IV. A place that if it had been long kept, must have been very troublesome to that monarch, and would have given the Spaniards great advantages against us. It was strong, as well by situation, as by the art and expence employed in fortifying it; and had, beside, a numerous garrison of Spanish troops. Sir John Norris, with a small English army, formed the siege by land; Sir Martin Frobisher, with only four men of war, forced an entrance into the harbour; and having thus blocked up the place by sea, landed his sailors, and in conjunction with Sir John Norris, stormed the fort; which, though gallantly defended, was taken; with the loss of abundance of brave men; and amongst them, may be reckoned Sir Martin himself, who died in the wounds he received in that service. The same year Sir Francis Drake, and Sir John Hawkins sailed on their last expedition into the West Indies.

The Spaniards, who seldom abandon any design they once undertake, were all this time employed in assembling and equipping another fleet for England; and as an earnest of their intentions, in the year 1595, Don Diego Brochero, with four gallies, arrived in Mount's-Bay, in Cornwall, and landing with all his men, burnt three little places; but without killing or taking so much as a single man. This, however, alarmed the nation, and engaged the queen to undertake an invasion of the Spanish dominions, to prevent any such future visits to her own; in order to which, a stout fleet and a numerous army were provided, under the most experienced officers of those times.

The true design of this expedition, was, to destroy the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz, and to make themselves masters of that rich city. The force employed was very great, not less in all than 150 sail; of which, 126 were men of war; but of these, only seventeen were the queen's ships, the rest were hired from traders and fitted for this voyage. On board this mighty fleet, were embarked upward of 7000 men. The joint commanders of the expedition were, the earl of Essex, and the lord high-admiral (Howard) assisted by a council of war. There was beside, a Dutch squadron, under the command of Admiral Van Duvendoord, consisting of twenty-four ships, well manned and victualled. This navy lay for some time at Plymouth, till all things could be got ready; and then, on the first of June 1596, sailed for the coast of Spain with a fair wind, and the good wishes of all their countrymen.

They were so happy as to arrive in sight of Cadiz on the twentieth of the same month, before they were either looked for, or so much as apprehended. They found the town indifferently well fortified, and defended by a strong castle. In the port were fifty-nine Spanish ships; amongst them, many laden with treasure, and nineteen or twenty gallies. Some time was lost before their coming to a resolution how to act,  
owing

owing to the joint command : for the earl of Essex, who was young and warm, affected to dictate ; while the admiral, who had as much courage, and more experience, could not brook being controuled. At last, it was determined to attack the ships in the haven, before any attempt was made upon the town ; whereupon a new difficulty arose, which was, who should command this attack. In the execution, some errors were committed, through the too great heat and emulation of the commanders ; but others much more gross and fatal by the Spaniards ; who, when they found themselves compelled to fly, did it without any of those precautions whereby they might have provided for their safety : for instead of running their ships ashore under the town, where they would have been covered by their own artillery, and where at least their men might have gone ashore in safety, they ran them up the bay, as far from the enemy as possible ; by which means, part fell into the hands of the English, and the rest were burnt.

In the mean time, the earl of Essex landed his men quietly, the enemy deserting a strong fort, from which they might have done him much mischief : three regiments also were sent to make themselves masters of the causeway which unites the island to the main. This they performed with very small loss ; but afterward quitted it again, which gave the gallies an opportunity of escaping ; another oversight, for which no account can be given. The lord admiral, hearing the earl was landed, landed also with the remainder of the forces, doubting much whether his lordship could have kept the place : and while the two generals were employed in reducing the city, Sir Walter Raleigh was sent to seize the ships in the harbour of Port-Real ; to prevent which, the duke of Medina Sidonia caused them to be set on fire, and burnt, whereby twenty millions were buried in the sea. The city and its forts they possessed for a fortnight ; and the earl of Essex was very desirous of being

ing left there with a garrison, however small; which was, notwithstanding, over-ruled by the council of war. It was then agreed to sail to Faro, in the kingdom of Algarve, where they found the place deserted by its inhabitants, and void of any thing that could be made plunder. To repair this disappointment, the earl of Essex was for sailing to the Azores, there to wait for the East India ships; but in this too he was over-ruled, because there was a great complaint of the want of provision and ammunition on board the fleet. In their return, they looked into the ports of Groyne, St. Andero, and St. Sebastian, where they expected to find ships, but met with none; and after this, nothing remarkable happened till their arrival in England, which was on the eighth of August the same year. They brought with them two galleons, one hundred brass guns, and an immense booty; the desire of keeping which, is conceived to have hindered them from performing more.

In the spring of the year 1597, the king of Spain fitted out a fresh armada from Lisbon, composed not only of his own ships and gallies, but also of all that he could take up, and hire in Italy, or elsewhere. On board of these, he embarked a great body of troops, especially of the Irish, intending to have invaded both England and Ireland; but the winds disappointed him, scattered his fleet, and thirty-six sail were cast away. In the mean time the queen fitted out another fleet of 40 men of war under the command of the earl of Essex, with an intent to intercept the plate-fleet near the Azores, after burning such vessels as were in the harbours of the Groyne and Ferrol. They sailed from Plymouth the 9th of July; but a storm arising, they were forced back thither again, and did not sail the second time till the 7th of August. They used their best endeavours to perform the first part of their instructions, but finding it impracticable, they thought it expedient to steer for the islands. In this voyage Sir Walter Raleigh's



ship sprung her mast, which, however, did not hinder him, when he had repaired his loss, from proceeding to the place of rendezvous. He had scarce begun to wood and water there, before the earl of Essex sent him orders to follow him to Fayal, which island the general himself intended to attempt. Raleigh obeyed him; but not finding Essex on his arrival, and perceiving that the people were securing their goods, throwing up retrenchments, and making every other preparation necessary for their defence, he with the advice of his officers resolved, in case Essex did not arrive in four days, to attempt the reduction of the island, which accordingly he performed: but though he got reputation by this exploit, yet he lost the general's friendship, so that a coldness thenceforth prevailed, which afterward encreased to open opposition and the most rancorous hatred.

After Essex's arrival they sailed together to Graciosa, which immediately submitted. Here the general intended to have staid; and if he had done so, undoubtedly it had answered his purpose, and he had taken the whole Spanish fleet: but being too easily brought to alter his purposes, he took another method, which gave the Spaniards, who arrived the next day, an opportunity of proceeding for Tercera, with the loss of no more than three ships, which were taken by Sir William Monson. The rest of the fleet, consisting of about thirty-seven sail, arrived safely in the port of Angra, which was well defended by several forts; so that on mature deliberation, it was judged impracticable to attempt any thing there with reasonable hopes of success.

The earl of Essex, vexed at this disappointment, resolved to do somewhat of consequence before he returned; and therefore landing, surpris'd the town of Villa Franca and plundered it: after which he re-imbarked his forces, and prepared for his return home. In his passage he had the good luck to take a very rich Spanish ship, which fell into his fleet,  
mistaking

mistaking it for their own. In the mean time, the Spaniards were meditating great designs. The absence of the English fleet gave them an opportunity of sending out their squadrons from the Groyne and Ferrol. With these they intended to have made a descent in Cornwall, and to have possessed themselves of the port of Falmouth. The Spanish admiral proceeded to the islands of Scilly, almost within sight of our shore: but it so happened, that a very high storm arose, which entirely separated their fleet. In this storm eighteen capital ships were lost, several forced into English ports were taken, and the Spanish admiral's schemes thereby entirely disconcerted. Nor did our fleet escape the fury of this tempest; but with much difficulty reached the western coast in the latter end of the month of October.

In 1598, the earl of Cumberland fitted out a squadron of eleven sail at his own expence; with which he first attempted to intercept the Lisbon fleet in its passage to the East Indies. Being disappointed in that, he sailed to the Canaries, where he made a descent on the island of Lancerota, plundered it, and then proceeded to America, where he promised himself great things. The place he fixed upon was the island of Puerto Rico, where he landed, and took the capital with small loss. This city he determined to keep, with an intent to have cruised from thence upon the Spanish coasts; but he was quickly convinced that the design was impracticable, diseases spreading amongst his soldiers and seamen to such a degree, that he was obliged to abandon his conquest.

In 1599, there was a great fleet fitted out by the queen's command: but it seems rather with an intent to watch the Spaniards, than to undertake any other enterprize of importance; since after remaining about three weeks in the Downs, it was again laid up. Yet the equipping this fleet had a great effect upon Spain, and all the powers of Europe; for it was drawn together in twelve days time, well victualled, and  
thoroughly

thoroughly manned, which shewed the strength of our maritime power, and how much it was improved since 1588. The next year, being 1600, Sir Richard Levison was sent to intercept the plate-fleet; which design, though it was well contrived and wisely executed, yet failed. In 1601, the same admiral was employed in Ireland, where he did good service, in obliging the Spaniards, who had landed a considerable body of forces, to relinquish their design, and withdraw out of that island.

In 1602, the same admiral, in conjunction with Sir William Monson, was employed in an expedition for intercepting the galleons, which had infallibly taken effect, if the Dutch had sent their squadron, agreeable to their engagements with the queen. Notwithstanding this disappointment, they continued on the coast of Portugal, and at length resolved to attack a galleon which lay with eleven gallies in the road of Cerimbra; which was one of the most gallant exploits performed in the whole war. The town of Cerimbra was large and well built with free-stone, defended by a good citadel well furnished with artillery. Above the town, on the top of a mountain, stood the abbey, so fortified as to command the place, the citadel, and the road. The galleon was moored close to the shore, so as to defend by its fire, part of the citadel and part of the town: the gallies had so flanked and fortified themselves, that they were able to make a great fire upon the English fleet, without receiving any damage themselves, till such time as our ships were just before the town. Yet, in spite of these and many other disadvantages, the English admirals resolved to attack them; which they did on the 3d of June. A gale of wind blowing fresh about two in the morning, the admiral weighed, and made the signal for an attack. The vice-admiral did the like, and soon after they fell upon the enemy with great fury; and though the Spaniards defended themselves with much resolution, yet in the end several  
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of the galleies were burnt, the garrison driven from the castle, and the rich galleon, for which all this struggle was made, taken, with about a million of pieces of eight on board. Frederic Spinola, in the St. Lewis, sailed from Cerimbra, with the rest of the galleies that had escaped, viz. The St. John Baptist, the Lucera, the Padilla, the Philip, and the St. John, for the coast of Flanders; and on the 23d of September entered the British channel. Here they fell in with some English and Dutch ships; by whom three of them were sunk: the rest with great difficulty reached Dunkirk in safety.

This was the last great exploit performed by sea in this reign; for the queen, now far in years, and worn out with the cares and fatigues of government, died on the 24th of March following, in the forty-fifth year of her reign, and in the seventieth of her life: when she had settled the protestant religion throughout her kingdom, had restored the crown to its ancient reputation, supported her allies with the greatest firmness, and humbled her enemies, so as to compel them to think of soliciting for peace.

Her attention to trade appears in many instances, of some of which it may not be amiss to treat more particularly. The merchants of the Hanse-towns complained loudly in the beginning of her reign, of the ill-treatment they had received in the days of Edward and queen Mary; to which she very prudently answered, "That as she would not innovate any thing, so she would protect them still in the immunities and condition she found them:" which not contenting them, their commerce was soon after suspended for a time, to the great advantage of the English merchants. At last the Hanse-towns prevailed so far in virtue of their German connections as to gain an imperial edict, whereby the English merchants were prohibited all commerce in the empire; this was answered by a proclamation, in consequence of which, sixty sail of their ships were taken in the river of Lisbon, laden with contraband goods for the  
use



use of the Spaniards. These ships the queen intended to have restored, as sincerely desiring to have compromised all differences with those trading cities : but when she was informed that a general assembly was held at the city of Lubeck, in order to concert measures for distressing the English trade, she caused the ships and their cargoes to be confiscated ; only two of them were released to carry home this news, and that the queen had the greatest contempt imaginable for all their proceedings.

After this, Sigismund king of Poland interposed in their behalf, sending hither an ambassador, who talking in a very high stile ; the queen, in her answers told him plainly, that the king his master made no right estimate of his own power, and that himself was very little fit for the employment in which she found him. Thus were we ridded for ever of these incorporated foreign factors, and our own merchants established in the right of managing our commerce. In the latter end of her reign, some disputes happening with the king of Denmark, and he most unadvisedly seizing the English ships that were in his ports, the queen sent one Dr. Parkins to demand immediate and adequate satisfaction : which he did in so peremptory a stile, that the Dane was glad to compound the matter for forty thousand dollars, which he paid her majesty, and which she caused to be proportionably divided among the merchants who were injured.

These are instances of her noble spirit in obtaining redress of grievances in foreign countries, even in the most perillous times, and when her affairs were in the utmost embarrassment. As to her care of trade and navigation within her own dominions, we have already mentioned many particulars ; however, it may not be amiss to observe, that in 1563, an act was made for the better regulation, maintenance, and increase of the navy ; and in 1566, there was a law to enable the master, wardens, and the assistants of the Trinity-house, to set up beacons and sea-marks. The same year there passed an act for incorporating, and  
more

more effectually establishing the company of merchant adventurers. In 1581, there likewise passed an act for the increase of mariners, and for the maintenance of navigation, and more especially for recovering the trade to Iceland, which began then to decay, and in which there had been employed annually upward of two hundred sail of stout ships. In 1585, the queen erected by her letters patent, a new company for the management of the trade to Barbary; and in the year 1600, she incorporated a society of merchants trading to the East Indies, whence the present East India company is derived\*.

Beside these numerous marks of her royal favour, and the strict attention to the commerce of her subjects, the queen afforded others continually, by sending envoys and agents to the Czar, to the Shah of Persia, to several great princes in the East Indies: and in short, wherever her interposition could be of any use to open, to promote, or to recover any branch of traffic; as appears by all the histories that are extant of her reign. It may be said, and which is more, may be said with truth and justice, that in the midst of these great things done for industry and trade, the prerogative was carried very high: many monopolies erected, and several exclusive privileges granted, which have been found injurious to trade. But the discussing these points belong to general history.

This disposition of the queen, excited a like spirit throughout the whole nation. Not only persons bred to trade, and some of the middle gentry of the kingdom, launched out into expeditions for discoveries, and planting new-found countries; but even persons of the first distinction, became encouragers and adventurers in those designs: such as the lord-treasurer Burleigh, the earl of Warwick, the earl of Leicester, &c. and some of them actually engaged in the exe-

\* See the first voyage on account of the English East India company, under Sir James Lancaster; in the second volume of this Collection.

cution of such projects, amongst whom were the earls of Cumberland, Essex, and Southampton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Richard Grenville, Sir Humphry Gilbert, Sir Robert Dudley, &c. And therefore we need not wonder at the surprising increase of our maritime power, or the number of remarkable undertakings of this sort, within so short a period of time. Let us mention only a few. In 1575, Sir Humphry Gilbert attempted the discovery of a north-west passage; in 1577, Sir Martin Frobisher sought one the same way; Pet and Jackman failed on a like design in 1580, by the direction of the governor and company of merchant-adventurers: an expedition was undertaken at a great expence by Sir Humphry Gilbert, in order to settle Florida; nor did it miscarry through any error of the undertaker. The great Sir Walter Raleigh would have settled Virginia in 1584, if prudence, industry, and public spirit could have effected it; but though he failed in the extent, yet he was not totally defeated in his hopes, since he laid the foundation of that settlement, which hath since so happily succeeded.

It may in this place contribute not a little to our satisfaction, if we enquire what quantity of coin, both gold and silver, there might be in the nation, toward the close of her reign; that is, at the beginning of the last century, because it is of very great consequence to have a just notion of what was the nation's stock in ready money at that period, when our great foreign commerce began. We have indeed an authentic account of her entire coinage in silver, amounting to above four millions and a half; but then if we consider that she recoined almost all the silver specie of the kingdom, and that there was a small alteration in the standard in the latter end of her reign, which raised silver from five shillings, to five and two-pence an ounce, which occasioned a new fabrication; so that much of the former coin came into the mint again as bullion: we may, with the judicious Dr. Davenant, estimate

the silver coin at that time in this kingdom, at two millions and a half; to which, if we add the gold of her own and her predecessors coin, and estimate this at a million and a half, we may be pretty sure that we are not much wide of the truth; and that one hundred and fifty years ago, the current coin of England amounted in the whole, to four millions or thereabout.

King James, at his accession to the English throne, was about thirty-six years of age; and, if he had been a private person, would not have rendered himself very remarkable either by his virtues or his vices. The greatest of his failings were timidity, dissimulation, and a high opinion of his own wisdom: these, however, were more excusable than modern writers are willing to allow, if we consider the accident that happened to his mother before his birth, the strange treatment he met with in Scotland, from the several factions prevailing in that kingdom during his junior years, and the excessive flatteries that were heaped on him after he came hither, by all ranks of people. It was impossible for him to have made himself much acquainted with maritime affairs while he continued in Scotland, yet it does not at all appear, that he was negligent of naval concerns, after he was seated on the English throne; unless his hasty conclusion of a peace with Spain should be thought liable to the like censure.

The accession of king James gave a fair opportunity to the house of Austria, to make an end of the long quarrel which had subsisted with England; because, during all that time, they had been in peace and amity with king James as king of Scots. Immediately on his arrival at London, the arch-duke sent over a minister to the English court, and in consequence of his negotiations, a peace was soon after concluded with Spain. Some of the writers of those times tell us, that it was chiefly brought about by the large bribes given to all the king's ministers and fa-

vourites.



yourites. It seems, however, more reasonable to conclude, that this peace was in reality the effect of the king's inclination, supported by the advice of his most eminent statesmen; some of whom were known to have been for this measure in the queen's time. There were two treaties, one of peace and alliance, the other of commerce, both signed at London, the 18th of August, 1604; the constable of Castile, the greatest subject in Spain, being sent for that purpose. All the trading part of the nation were very well pleased with this proceeding, and would have been much more so, if the king had not taken a very strange step upon its conclusion. He erected a company of merchants, who were to carry on the Spanish commerce exclusively, which gave both an universal and very just offence; for as the whole nation had borne the expence of the war, and trade in general had suffered thereby, it was but reasonable, that the benefits of peace should be as diffusive. This evil, however, was of no long continuance. But if this treaty gave some dissatisfaction at home, it raised no less discontent abroad. The Hollanders, who were left to shift for themselves, and who had reaped so great advantages from the favour of queen Elizabeth, were exceedingly exasperated at a step so much to their immediate disadvantage. But as they found themselves still strong enough, not only to cope with the Spaniards, but also to make a greater figure than most other nations at sea; they lost that respect which was due to the English flag, and began to assume to themselves a kind of equality even in the narrow seas. This was quickly represented to the king as an indignity not to be borne; and thereupon he directed a fleet to be fitted out, the command of which was given to Sir William Monson, with instructions to maintain the honour of the English flag, and that superiority which was derived to him from his ancestors in the British seas. This fleet put to sea in the spring of 1604, and was continued annually under the same

admiral, who appears to have been a man of great spirit and much experience; for, as he tells us in his own memoirs, he served in the first ship of war fitted out in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and was an admiral in the last fleet she ever sent to sea. Yet he found it a very difficult matter to execute his commission; the Dutch, whenever he conferred with any of their chief officers, gave him fine language, and fair promises: but they minded them very little, taking our ships on very frivolous pretences, and treating those they found on board them with great severity, till such time as it appeared the admiral would not bear such usage, and began to make reprisals, threatening to hang, as pirates, people who shewed themselves very little better in their actions. There were also high contests about the flag, which began through some accidental civilities shewn to the Hollanders, in the late reign, when they sailed under the command of English admirals, upon joint expeditions, and were on that account treated as if they had been her majesty's own subjects; which favours they now pretended to claim as prerogatives due to them in quality of an independent state.

These disputes continued for many years; and though, through the vigilance of admiral Monson, the Dutch were defeated in all their pretensions, and the prerogatives of the British sovereignty at sea were thoroughly maintained; yet the republic of Holland still kept up a spirit of resentment, which broke out in such acts of violence, as would not have been past by in the days of queen Elizabeth. Nevertheless our admiral does not seem to charge the king, or his ministry in general, with want of inclination to do themselves justice; but lays it expressly at the door of secretary Cecil, afterward earl of Salisbury; who thought it, says he, good policy, to pass by such kind of offences: but he does not report any reasons upon which that kind of policy was grounded. However it did not absolutely or constantly prevail, even in the councils

cils of king James; for upon some surmises that foreigners took unreasonable liberties in fishing in our seas, a proclamation was published in the year 1608, asserting the king's sovereignty in that point, and prohibiting all foreign nations to fish on the British coast. This, though general in appearance, had yet a more particular relation to the Dutch, who found themselves greatly affected thereby, especially when the king appointed commissioners at London, for granting licences to such foreigners as would fish on the English coast; and at Edinburgh, for granting licences of the like nature to such as would fish in the northern sea. To these regulations, though with great reluctance, they submitted for the present; the reason of which seems to be, their having affairs of great moment to manage with the court of Great Britain. In these important concerns, notwithstanding all that had passed, they succeeded; and two treaties were concluded on the 26th of June, 1608, between the crown of Great Britain and the States-General: the one of peace and alliance, the other for stating and settling the debt due to king James. One would have imagined, that the advantages obtained by these treaties, should have brought the republic to a better temper, in respect to other matters; but they did not: for within a short time after, they disputed paying the affize-herring in Scotland, and the licence-money in England; and to protect their subjects from the penalties which might attend such a refusal, they sent ships of force to escort their herring-busses. These facts, as they are incontestable, are related, though without the least prejudice against the Dutch; who are a people certainly to be commended for all instances of public spirit, when they are not inconsistent with the rights of their neighbours, and the law of nations.

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them; and therefore they prevailed upon the king to republish his proclamation, that a parliament, whenever they met, might see they had done their duty, and advise the king thereupon as they should think fit.

There were also some struggles in this reign with the French, about the same rights of fishery, and the sovereignty of the sea; in which, through the vigorous measures taken by Sir William Monson, the nation prevailed, and the French were obliged to desist from their practices of disturbing our fishermen, and otherwise injuring our navigation. In 1614, the same admiral was sent to scour the Scotch and Irish seas, which were much infested with pirates. The noise, however, of their depredations far exceeded the damage; for when, on the first of June, Sir William Monson made the coast of Cathness, the most northern part of Scotland, he found that, instead of twenty pirates, of whom he expected to have intelligence in those parts, there were in fact but two; one of whom immediately surrendered, and the other was afterward taken by the admiral on the coast of Ireland: where, by a proper mixture of clemency and severity, he extirpated these rovers, and reclaimed the inhabitants of the sea-coast from affording shelter and protection to pirates, furnishing them with provisions, and taking their plunder in exchange.

In 1617, Sir Walter Raleigh was released from his imprisonment in the Tower, and had a commission from the king, to discover and take possession of any countries in the south of America, which were inhabited by heathen nations, for the enlargement of commerce, and the propagation of religion; in the undertaking which expedition, his expences were borne by himself, his friends, and such merchants as entertained a good opinion of the voyage. His design has been variously represented; but it is sufficiently evident, that the complaints of the Spanish minister, don Diego Sarmiento d'Acuna, so well known afterward

ward by the title of Count Gondemar, were not so much grounded on any notions of the injustice of this design, as on a piece of Spanish policy, by raising a clamour on false pretences, to discover the true scope and intent of Sir Walter's voyage. In this he was but too successful; for upon his representations, that excellent person was obliged to give a distinct account, as well of his preparations for executing, as of the design he was to execute: and this (by what means is not clear) was communicated to the Spaniards, who thereby gained an opportunity, first of disappointing him in America, and then of taking off his head upon his return, to the lasting dishonour of this reign, as well as the great detriment of the nation: for, without all doubt, this project of Sir Walter Raleigh's, for settling in Guiana, was not only well contrived, but well founded; and, if it had been followed, might have been as beneficial to Britain, as Brazil is to Portugal.

The disputes with the states of Holland, in reference to the right of fishing, broke out again, in the year 1618, from the old causes; which were plainly a very high presumption of their own maritime force, and an opinion they had entertained, of the king's being much addicted to peace. Mr. Camden, in his annals of the reign of this prince, says, that the deputies of the states, at their audience of the king, on the 31st of December, 1618, intreated that nothing might be done in respect to the herring-fishing; as it was the great support of their commonwealth, and the only succour and relief of the common people, in regard to the troubles then amongst them.

King James however asserted his rights through the course of this negotiation, and brought the states themselves to acknowledge, that these rights had a just foundation. If it should be enquired how it came to pass, that after carrying things so far, and to such a seeming height, they should fall again into silence and oblivion; the best answer that can be given to

this question is, that in the midst of this dispute, the prince of Orange asked Sir Dudley Carleton a very shrewd question, viz. Whether this claim about the fishery might not be quieted for a sum of money? That gentleman, who was afterward created Viscount Dorchester, was certainly a man of honour; but whether some men in power might not find a method by agents of their own, to convey an answer to so plain a demand, is more than at this distance of time can be determined. Sir William Monson tells us, that in reference to the disputes about the flag, the Dutch found a kind of protector in the great earl of Salisbury; nor is it at all impossible, that they might also find an advocate in this important business of the fishery: but if they did, this must have been a ministerial and not a national bargain, since we shall find, that in the next reign, this claim was insisted upon as warmly, and with somewhat better effect.

We come now to the only naval expedition of consequence, undertaken during the time this king sat upon the throne, which was the attempt upon Algiers. What the real grounds were of this romantic undertaking, seem not easy to be discovered. The common story is, that count Gondemar, having gained an ascendancy over his majesty's understanding, persuaded him, contrary to his natural inclination, which seldom permitted him to act vigorously against his own enemies, to fit out a formidable fleet, in order to humble the foes of the king of Spain. But we have it from other hands, that this was a project of much older standing: that the earl of Nottingham had solicited the king to such an expedition, before he laid down his charge of lord high admiral; and that Sir Robert Mansel infused it into the head of his successor Buckingham, that it would give a great reputation to his management of naval affairs, if such a thing was entered upon in the dawn of his administration. As Buckingham easily brought the king to consent to whatever himself approved, there is the utmost



utmost probability, that it was by his influence this design was carried into execution.

In the month of October, 1620, this fleet sailed from Plymouth. It consisted of six men of war, and twelve stout ships hired from the merchants. Of these Sir Robert Mansel, then vice-admiral of England, had the command in chief: Sir Richard Hawkins was vice, and Sir Thomas Button, rear-admiral. On the 27th of November, they came to an anchor in Alger-road, and saluted the town; but without receiving a single gun in answer. On the 28th, the admiral sent a gentleman with a white flag to let the Turkish viceroy know the cause of his coming; who returned him an answer by four commissioners, that he had orders from the Grand Seignior to use the English with the utmost respect, to suffer their men to come on shore, and to furnish them with what provisions they wanted. Upon this, a negotiation ensued; in which it is hard to say, whether the Turks or the admiral acted with greater chicanery. The former refused to dismiss the gentleman first sent, unless an English consul was left at Algiers; and the latter, to rid himself of this difficulty, prevailed upon a seaman to put on a suit of good cloaths, and to pass for a consul: this cheat not being discovered by the Turks, they sent forty English slaves on board the admiral, and promised to give him satisfaction as to his other demands; upon which, he sailed again for the Spanish coast, attended by six French men of war, the admiral of which squadron had struck to the English fleet on his first joining it, which seems to have been the greatest honour, and perhaps the greatest advantage too that attended this whole expedition.

It had been well if this enterprize had ended thus; but after receiving a supply of provisions from England, it was resolved to make another attempt upon Algiers in the spring, and, if possible, to burn the ships in the mole. Accordingly in the month of May the fleet left the coast of Majorca, and upon the 21st  
of

of the same month, anchored before Algiers, and began to prepare for the execution of this design. Two ships taken from the Turks, one of an hundred, the other of sixty tons, were fitted up for this purpose. Seven armed boats followed to sustain those of the fire-ships, in case they were pursued at their coming off. These were likewise furnished with fire-works to destroy the ships without the mole.

The wind not being favourable, the attempt was put off till the 24th, and blowing then at S. S. W. the ships advanced with a brisk gale toward the mole; but when they were within less than a musket-shot of the mole's head, the wind died away, and it grew so calm they could not enter. However, the boats and brigantines finding they were discovered, by the brightness of the moon, which was then at full, and being informed by a christian slave, who swam from the town, that the Turks had left their ships unguarded, with only a man or two in each of them, they resolved to proceed; which they did, but performed little or nothing, and then retired with the loss of six men. After a day or two's stay they put to sea, and in the month of June returned to England. This ill-concerted enterprize had no other effect, than that of exposing our own commerce to the insults of the Algerines, who did us a great deal of mischief, while we did them little or none. Two other fleets were afterward sent against them, one under the command of the lord Willoughby, and the other under that of the earl of Denbigh; but both did so small service, that very few of our histories take any notice of them. Sir William Monson has made some severe, but just observations, upon these undertakings; and particularly remarks, that notwithstanding the whole nation was grievously offended, as they will always be at such miscarriages, yet they never had any satisfaction given them; which irritated them exceedingly, and contributed not a little to raise that spirit, which vented itself afterward in a civil war.

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In 1623, happened the bloody affair of Amboyna; of which we have given a detail in vol. 2. p. 421.

It is indeed strange, that, considering the strength of the nation at sea at the time we received this insult, and the quick sense the English always have of any national affront; no proper satisfaction was obtained, nor any vigorous measures entered into, in order to exact it. But the wonder will in a great measure cease, when we consider the state of the crown, and of the people at that period. Therefore, though it made a great noise, and occasioned much expostulation with that republic, yet the attention of the crown to the proposed war with Spain, and its concern for the recovery of the Palatinate, joined to the necessity there was of managing the Dutch at so critical a juncture, hindered our proceeding any farther than remonstrances, while our competitors kept exclusively so very considerable a branch of trade.

Nothing of importance relating to naval affairs in this reign remains unmentioned, except the sending a fleet to bring home prince Charles from Spain, may be reckoned in that number. It consisted, however, of a few ships only, but in good order, and well manned; so that the Spaniards are said to have expressed great satisfaction at the sight of it: which, however, true or false, is a matter of no great consequence. This voyage, though a short one, gave prince Charles some idea of maritime affairs; which proved afterward of benefit to the nation. The breaking the Spanish match made way for a war with that kingdom, much to the satisfaction of the English; but in the midst of the preparations that were making for it, the king ended his days at Theobald's, on the 27th of March, 1625, in the 59th year of his age, and in the 23d of his reign. His pacific temper occasioned our having but little to say at this period; but it will be proper to give the reader a concise view of the improvement of trade and navigation,

gation, as well as a brief account of the colonies settled, while this prince sat upon the throne.

It has been already shewn, that under the public-spirited administration of queen Elizabeth, this nation first came to have any thing like a competent notion of the benefits of an extensive commerce; and began to think of managing their own trade themselves, which down to that period had been almost entirely in the hands of foreigners. So long as the war continued with Spain, our merchants went on in a right way; they prosecuted their private advantage in such a manner, as that it proved likewise of public utility, by increasing the number of seamen, and of stout ships belonging to this kingdom: but after king James's accession, and the taking place of that peace which they had so long and so earnestly expected, things took a strange turn. Our traders saw the manifest advantage of using large and stout ships; but instead of building them, were contented to freight those of their neighbours, because a little money was to be saved by this method. In consequence of this notion, our shipping decayed in proportion as our trade encreased; till in the year 1615, things were come to so strange a pass, that there were not ten ships of 200 tons belonging to the port of London. Upon this, the Trinity-house petitioned the king, setting forth the matter of fact, and the dreadful consequences it would have, with respect to our naval power, through the decay of seamen; and praying, that the king would put in execution some good old laws, which were calculated for the redress of this evil: suggesting also the example of the state of Venice, which, on a like occasion, had prohibited their subjects to transport any goods in foreign bottoms. The merchants unanimously opposed the mariners in this dispute, and, having at this juncture better interest at court, prevailed. Yet, in a year's time, the tables were turned, and the merchants convinced



vinced of their own mistake, joined with the mariners in a like application. An extraordinary accident produced this happy effect. Two ships, each of the burden of three hundred tons, came into the river Thames, laden with currants and cotton, the property of some Dutch merchants residing here. This immediately opened the eyes of all our traders: they saw now, that, through their own error, they were come back to the very point from which they set out; and if some bold and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, our commerce would be gradually driven again by foreigners on foreign bottoms. They instantly drew up a representation of this, and laid it before the king and his council; upon which a proclamation was issued, forbidding any English subject to export or import goods in any but English bottoms.

When a people have once entered into a course of industry, the benefits accruing from it, will generally keep them in that road; and even the difficulties they meet with, turn to their advantage. Thus, after the English merchants had built a few large ships in their own ports, and furnished them with artillery and other necessaries, they found themselves in a condition to launch into many trades, that were unthought of before. For some time, indeed, they suffered not a little by the pirates of Barbary; yet, in the end, it put them upon building still larger ships, as well as taking more care in providing and manning small ones. This had such an effect in the space of seven years, that whereas ships of a hundred tons had been before esteemed very large vessels, and were generally built and brought from beyond the seas; there were now many merchantmen of three, four, and five hundred tons belonging to several ports. So that before the death of king James, our trade was so far increased, that, in the opinion of Sir William Monson, we were little, if at all inferior in maritime force to the Dutch.

In

In respect to the encouragements given by the crown, for promoting commerce and plantations in the East Indies, and America, they were as great under this reign, as under any succeeding one. Several voyages were made on account of the East India company, and the king did not spare sending an ambassador into those parts for their service\*. Virginia and New England were in a great measure planted; Barbadoes possessed and settled, and Bermudas discovered in his time. Even the attempts made for fixing colonies in Newfoundland, and Acadia, or New Scotland, though ineffectual, occasioned building a great many good ships, increased the Newfoundland fishery, added to the number of our sailors, and kept alive that spirit of discovering, which is essential to a beneficial commerce. Beside, they engaged abundance of knowing and experienced persons to write upon all branches of traffic; and their books, which yet remain, sufficiently prove, that there were numbers in those days, who thoroughly understood all the arts necessary to promote manufactures, navigation and useful commerce.

As to the navy, which was more particularly the care of the crown, we find it frequently engaged the attention of the king himself, as well as of his ministers. In most of our naval histories, we have a list of nine ships added to the royal navy of England by this prince. But of the greatest ship built in this king's reign, we have so exact, and at the same time so authentic an account, in Stow's Annals, that it may not be amiss to transcribe it.

" This year, 1610, the king built a most goodly ship for war; the keel whereof was one hundred and fourteen feet long, and the cross-beam was forty-four feet in length: she will carry sixty-four pieces of great ordinance, and is of the burthen of fourteen hundred tons. This royal ship is double built, and is most sumptuously adorned, within and without, with all man-

\* See Sir Thomas Roe's embassy, in vol. 6.

manner of curious carving, painting, and rich gilding, being in all respects the greatest and goodliest ship that ever was built in England; and this glorious ship the king gave unto his son Henry prince of Wales. The 24th of September, the king, the queen, the prince of Wales, the duke of York, and the lady Elizabeth, with many other lords, went unto Woolwich, to see it launched; but because of the narrowness of the dock, it could not then be launched: whereupon the prince came the next morning by three o'clock, and then, at the launching thereof, the prince named it after his own dignity, and called it *The Prince*. The great workmaster in building this ship, was master Phineas Pet, gentleman, sometime master of arts of Emanuel College in Cambridge."

In the same author, we have an account of the king's going on board the great East India ship of twelve hundred tons, which was built here, and seems to have been the first of that size launched in this kingdom. The king called it, *The Trade's Increase*; and a pinnace of two hundred and fifty tons, which was built at the same time, he called, *The Pepper-Corn*. This shews that he was a favourer of navigation. The king also granted a commission of enquiry, for reforming the abuses in the navy; the proceedings upon which are still preserved in the Cotton-library. He was liberal also to seamen, and naturally inclined to do them honour; but as in other things, so in this, he was too much governed by his favourites.

Upon the demise of king James, his only son Charles prince of Wales succeeded him; not only quietly, and without disturbance, but with the general approbation of his subjects. He was then in the flower of his age, had shewn himself possessed of great abilities; and after the breaking off the Spanish match, he rendered himself for a time very popular by his conduct. His father left him in a situation much incumbered

cumbered at the time of his decease ; for the government was deeply in debt, a war with Spain was just begun, and his prime minister, the duke of Buckingham, who had been likewise his father's, was generally hated. In this sad state of public affairs, every thing was subject to wrong constructions. Eight thousand men, raised for the service of the Palatinate, were ordered to rendezvous at Plymouth ; and in their passage thither, coat and conduct-money were demanded of the country, to be repaid out of the Exchequer. The behaviour of these troops was very licentious ; and the long continuance of peace, made it appear still a greater grievance. The clamour thereupon grew high ; and the king, to remedy this evil, granted a commission for executing martial-law, which, instead of being considered as a remedy, was taken for a new grievance, more heavy than any of the rest.

During the time that Buckingham remained in the king's council, all things were attributed to him ; and the nation was so prejudiced against him, that whatever was reputed to be done by him, was thought a grievance : and though no man saw this more clearly than the king, yet by an infatuation, not easily to be accounted for, he trusted him as much, and loved him much more than his father had ever done.

The marriage of Charles with the princess Henrietta-Maria, daughter to Henry IV. of France, had been concluded in the life-time of king James ; and after his decease, the king was married to her by proxy. In the month of June, 1625, Buckingham went to attend her with the royal navy, and brought her to Dover ; from thence she came to Canterbury, where the marriage was consummated : and on the 16th of the same month, their majesties entered London privately, the plague daily increasing in the suburbs. It was not long before an unfortunate transaction rendered this marriage disagreeable to the people, and



as this related to the navy, it falls particularly under our cognizance; which we shall therefore handle more at large, because in most of our general histories it is treated very confusedly.

The marquis d'Effiat, ambassador from France to king James, had represented to his majesty, that the power of the catholic king in Italy was dangerous to all Europe; that his master was equally inclined with his Britannic majesty to curtail it: but wanting a sufficient maritime force, was desirous of borrowing from his majesty a few ships, to enable him to execute the design he had formed against Genoa. To this the king condescended; and it was agreed, that the Great Neptune, a man of war, commanded by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and six merchant ships, each of between three and four hundred tons burden, should be lent to the French: but soon after this agreement, the Rochellers made an application here, signifying, that they had just grounds to apprehend, that this English squadron would be employed for destroying the protestant interest in France, instead of diminishing the king of Spain's power in Italy.

The duke of Buckingham, knowing that this would be little relished by captain Pennington, who was to go admiral of the fleet, and the owners of the ships; he gave them private instructions, contrary to the public contract with France, whereby they were directed not to serve against Rochelle: but upon their coming into a French port, in the month of May, they were told by the duke of Montmorency, that they were intended to serve, and should serve against Rochelle; upon which, the sailors on board the fleet signed, what is called by them, a round Robin, that is, a paper containing their resolution not to engage in that service, with their names subscribed in a circle, that it might not be discerned who signed first.

Upon this, Pennington fairly sailed away with the whole squadron, and returned into the Downs in the

beginning of July; from whence he sent a letter to the duke of Buckingham, desiring to be excused from that service. The duke, without acquainting the king, or consulting the council, directed lord Conway, then secretary of state, to write a letter to captain Pennington, commanding him to put all the ships into the hands of the French. This, however, not taking effect, the duke superstitiously, and without the king's knowing any thing of the design upon Rochelle, procured his letter to captain Pennington, to the same effect. Upon this, in the month of August, he sailed a second time to Dieppe, where, according to his instructions, the merchant ships were delivered to the French; but Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who commanded the king's ship, weighed anchor and put to sea: and so honest were all the seamen on board these ships, that, except one gunner, they all quitted them, and returned to England: but as for the ships, they remained with the French, and were actually employed against Rochelle, contrary to the king's intention, and to the very high dishonour of the nation. This affair made a great noise, and came at last to form an article in an impeachment against the duke of Buckingham.

In the mean time the design still went on of attacking and invading Spain, and a stout fleet was provided for that purpose; but as Buckingham, in quality of lord high-admiral, had the supreme direction of that affair, the nation looked upon it with an evil eye, and were not so much displeased at its miscarriage, as glad of an opportunity of railing at the duke, and those who, by his influence, were entrusted with the command of the fleet, and forces on board it. The whole of this transaction has been very differently related, according to the humours of those who penned the accounts; however, there are very authentic memoirs remaining, which inform us that this war with Spain was chiefly of the duke of Buck-

Buckingham's procuring, and seems to have proceeded more from his personal distaste to count Olivarez, than any solid or honourable motive.

While the clamour subsisted on the want of success attending this fleet abroad, the duke of Buckingham fell into another error, in the execution of his office as lord high-admiral at home. He was vexed at the noise that had been made about the merchant ships put into the hands of the French, and employed against Rochelle; and therefore took occasion in the latter end of the year 1626, to cause a French ship, called the St. Peter, of Havre de Grace, to be arrested. The pretence was, that it was laden with Spanish effects; which, however, the French denied, and asserted, that all the goods in the ship belonged to French merchants, or to English and Dutch. Upon this a commission was granted to hear evidence as to that point; and it appearing plainly, there was no just ground of seizure, the ship was ordered to be released, but not before the French king made some reprisals: which so irritated the nation, that this also was made an article in the duke's impeachment. The matter, however, was compromised between the two kings, and the good correspondence between their subjects for a time restored; but at the bottom, there was no cordial reconciliation: and so this quarrel, like a wound ill cured, broke quickly out again with worse symptoms than before.

The war in which the king was engaged, in order to have procured the restitution of the Palatinate to his brother-in-law, had drawn him into a league with Denmark, which obliged him to send a squadron of ships to that king's assistance; and this being attended with small success, he was called upon for farther supplies. His parliaments all this time were little inclined to assist him, because he would not part with Buckingham; and this obliged him to have recourse to such methods for supply, as his lawyers assured him were justifiable. Amongst the rest, he obliged all

the sea-ports to furnish him with ships: of the city of London he demanded twenty, and of other places in proportion.

The inhabitants thought this so hard, that many, who had no immediate dependence on trade, were for quitting their residence in maritime places, and retiring up into the country. This conduct of theirs made the burden still more intolerable upon those who staid behind; and the consequence of their remonstrances was a proclamation, requiring such as had quitted the sea-coast, to return immediately to their former dwellings: and this it was gave rise to the first disturbances in this unfortunate reign. They were quickly increased by the rash management of Buckingham; who, though he saw his master so deeply embarrassed with the wars in which he was already engaged, yet plunged him into another with France, very precipitately, and against all the rules of true policy.

The queen's foreign servants, who were all bigotted papists, had not only acted indiscreetly in matters relating to their religion, but had likewise drawn the queen to take some very wrong, to say the truth, some ridiculous and extravagant steps; upon which Buckingham engaged his majesty to dismiss her French servants, which he did the first of July, 1626, and then sent the lord Carleton to represent his reasons, for taking so quick a measure, to the French king. That monarch refused him audience, and to shew his sense of the action, immediately seized one hundred and twenty of our ships which were in his ports, and undertook the siege of Rochelle; though our king had acted but a little before, as a mediator between him and his protestant subjects. Upon this, the latter applied themselves to king Charles, who ordered a fleet of thirty sail to be equipped for their relief, and sent it under the command of the earl of Denbigh: but this being so late in the year as the month of October, his lordship found it impracticable



rable to execute his commission; and so, after continuing some time at sea in hard weather, returned into port; which not only disappointed the king's intention, but also blemished his reputation, as the Rochellers began to suspect the sincerity of this design.

The duke of Buckingham, to put the thing out of dispute, caused a great fleet to be drawn together the next year, and an army of seven thousand men to be put on board it; resolving to go himself as admiral and commander in chief. He sailed from Portsmouth the 27th of June, and landed on the island of Rhe; though at first he intended to have made a descent on Oleron, and actually promised so much to the duke of Soubise, whom he sent to Rochelle, to acquaint the inhabitants of his coming to their relief. They received this message coldly; for the French king having corrupted some by his gold, and terrifying many more by his power, the Rochellers were now afraid to receive the very succours they had demanded.

The town of St. Martin's however was speedily taken by the English, and his grace then invested the citadel; but gave evident proofs of his want of military skill in managing the siege. By this time the Rochellers had declared for the English; and this declaration of theirs, and the expectation he had of succours from England, engaged Buckingham to remain so long in his camp, that his troops were much diminished. At length, on the 6th of November, he made a general assault; when it appeared, that the place was impregnable to forces under such circumstances as his were. Two days after, he resolved upon a retreat; which was as ill conducted as the rest of the expedition. With equal shame and loss therefore, the duke concluded this unlucky expedition, embarking all his forces on the 9th of the same month, and sending the Rochellers a solemn promise, that he would come back again to their relief; which, however, he did not live to perform. To compleat his misfortune, as he entered Plymouth, he met the

earl of Holland with the promised succours sailing out, who now returned with him.

To remedy those evils, a parliament was called in the beginning of 1628, wherein there passed nothing but disputes between the king and the commons; so that at last it was prorogued without granting supplies. The king, however, exerted himself to the utmost, in preparing a naval force to make good what the duke of Buckingham had promised to the inhabitants of Rochelle. With this view a fleet of fifty sail was assembled at Plymouth in the spring, and a large body of marines embarked; the command of it was given to the earl of Denbigh, who was brother-in-law to Buckingham, and who sailed from that port on the 17th of April, coming to anchor in the road of Rochelle on the 1st of May. On his arrival, he found twenty sail of the French king's ships riding before the harbour; and being much superior in number and strength, he sent advice into the town, that he would sink the French ships as soon as the wind came west, and made a higher flood. About the 8th of May, the wind and tide served accordingly, and the Rochellers expected and solicited that deliverance: but the earl, without remembering his promise, or embracing the opportunity, weighed anchor and sailed away, suffering four of the French ships to pursue, as it were, the English fleet, which arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of May.

This second inglorious expedition was still a greater discouragement to the poor Rochellers; and increased the fears and jealousies of a popish interest at home. One Le Brun, a Frenchman, but captain in the English fleet, gave in depositions before the mayor of Plymouth, on the 6th of May, which argued treachery, or apparent cowardice, in the management of this late expedition. This account was certified by the mayor of Plymouth, and the two burgeses of that town in parliament, by whom it was communicated to the council-table; from whence a letter was directed

directed to the duke of Buckingham, as lord high-admiral, dated the 30th of May, 1628, to signify his majesty's pleasure, that the earl of Denbigh should return back to relieve the town of Rochelle, with the fleet under his charge, and with other ships prepared at Portsmouth and Plymouth. But, notwithstanding this order of council, no such return was made; nor any enquiry into the disobedience of the king's order for it.

Notwithstanding these repeated defeats, the cries of the Rochellers, and the clamours of the people were so loud, that a third fleet was prepared for the relief of that city, now, by a close siege, reduced to the last extremity. The duke of Buckingham chose to command in person, and to that end came to Portsmouth; where, on the 23d of August, he was assassinated by one Felton, an enthusiastic officer of the army.

This accident did not prevent the king's prosecuting his design; the very next day his majesty made the earl of Lindsey admiral, Monson and Mountjoy, vice and rear-admirals: and, as an illustrious foreign writer assures us, his care and presence had such an effect in the preparing for this voyage, that more was dispatched now, in ten or twelve days, than in many weeks before. This expedition, however, was not more fortunate than the former. The fleet sailed the 8th of September, 1628, and arriving before Rochelle, found the boom raised to block up the entrance of the port, so strong, that though many attempts were made to break through it, yet they proved vain; so that the Rochellers were glad to accept of terms from their own prince, and actually surrendered the place on the 18th of October, the English fleet looking on, without being able to help them. With this expedition ended the operations of the war with France.

From this time, the French began to be ambitious of raising a maritime power, and to be extremely uneasy at the growth of the English shipping. This

was the effect of Richlieu's politics, who best understood the different interests of the several European powers, of any minister that nation ever had, or, it is to be hoped, for the peace of Christendom, will ever have. He revived the dispute between the Dutch and us, respecting the fishery; and the famous Hugo Grotius was induced to write a treatise, under the title of *Mare Liberum*, wherein, with great eloquence, he endeavoured to shew the weakness of our title to dominion over the sea: which, according to his notion, was a gift from God, common to all nations. This was answered by Selden, in his famous treatise, entitled, *Mare Clausum*; wherein he has effectually demonstrated, from the principles of the law of nature and nations, and from history, that a dominion over the sea may be, and has been, acquired. This book of Mr. Selden's was published in 1634, and by the countenance then, and afterward, shewn by king Charles toward this extraordinary performance, we may fairly conclude, that he had very just and generous notions of his own, and his people's rights in this respect, though he was very unfortunate in taking such methods as he did to support them.

The French minister persisted steadily in his Machiavellian scheme, of using the power and industry of the Dutch, to interrupt the trade, and lessen the maritime force of Britain. With this view also, a negotiation was begun between that crown and the states of Holland, for dividing the Spanish Netherlands between them; and under colour of thus assisting them, in support of their pretensions to an equal right over the sea, and in promoting their trade, to the prejudice of ours, Richlieu carried on secretly and securely his darling object of raising a naval force in France: to promote which, he spared not either for pains or expence, procuring from all parts the ablest persons in all arts and sciences, any way relating to navigation, and fixing them in the French service, by giving them great encouragement.

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The apprehensions which the king had entertained of this new league between the French and Dutch, were so heightened in the year 1635, by the junction of the fleets of those two powers, and the intelligence he had, that France was shortly to declare war against Spain, and from thence to derive that occasion they had been so long seeking to divide the Netherlands between themselves and their new allies; all whose pretensions, in respect to the right of fishing in, and using an unrestrained navigation in the seas, they had undertaken to support, that he resolved to be no longer passive. In order to defeat this design, and maintain the sovereignty annexed to the English crown, as well as the nation's credit, as a maritime power; the king saw, that it was necessary to equip and put to sea a superior naval force.

This it seemed exceeding hard to do, without the assistance of a parliament; and yet the delays in granting aids had been so great in former parliaments, that his majesty was very doubtful of succeeding, if for this he trusted to a parliamentary supply. His lawyers, knowing both the nature of the case, and his deep distress, suggested to him, that upon this occasion, he might have recourse to his prerogative; which opinion having been approved by the judges, he thereupon directed writs to be issued, for the levying of ship-money. These writs were, for the present, directed only to sea-ports, and such places as were near the coast; requiring them to furnish a certain number of ships, or to grant the king an equivalent thereto. The city of London was directed to provide seven ships for twenty-six days, and other places in proportion. To make the nation more easy under this tax, the king directed, that the money raised thereby, should be kept apart in the exchequer; and that a distinct account should be given of the services to which it was applied. Yet, in spite of these precautions, the people murmured grievously; which,

which, however, did not hinder this project from being carried into execution.

With the help of this money, the king, in the month of May, 1635, fitted out a fleet of forty sail, under the command of Robert earl of Lindsey, who was admiral; Sir William Monson, vice-admiral, Sir John Pennington, rear-admiral: as also another of twenty sail, under the earl of Essex. The first of these fleets sailed from Tilbury-Hope on the 26th of May. Their instructions were, to give no occasion of hostility and to suffer nothing that might prejudice the rights of the king and kingdom. The French and Dutch fleets joined off Portland, the last of this month; and made no scruple of giving out, that they intended to assert their own independency, and to question that prerogative which the English claimed in the narrow seas; but as soon as they were informed that the English fleet was at sea, and in search of them, they quitted our coast, and repaired to their own.

Our admiral sent a bark upon the coast of Britany, to take a view of them; and from the time of the return of this bark, to the 1st of October, this fleet protected our own seas and shores, gave laws to the neighbouring nations, and effectually asserted that sovereignty which the monarchs of this kingdom have ever claimed. The good effect of this armament, and the reputation we gained thereby abroad, in some measure quieted the minds of the people; as it convinced them, that this was not an invention to bring money into the exchequer, without respect had to the end for which it was raised.

The king, perfectly satisfied with what had been done this year, and yet well knowing that it would signify little if another, and that at least as good a fleet, was not set out the next; to raise the money necessary for equipping such a force, had recourse again to his writs for levying of ship-money: but now the aid was made more extensive. The burden, indeed,  
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in itself, was far from being pressing: at the utmost it did not amount to above 236,000 l. per annum, which was not quite 20,000 l. a month throughout the whole kingdom; yet the making it an universal aid, and the assessing and collecting it in the parliamentary methods, without parliamentary authority, gave it an air of oppression, and made it extremely odious.

In order to prevent all doubts from his own subjects, and also to prevent any false surmises gaining ground in foreign nations, as to the design of this potent armament; the king thought fit to express his royal intentions to the world, in the most public, and in the most authentic manner: that, at one and the same time, it might appear what himself demanded, and what had been paid in acknowledgment of the right of his ancestors in regard to those things, as to which these demands were made.

In 1636, the king sent a fleet of sixty sail to sea, under the command of the earl of Northumberland, admiral; Sir John Pennington, vice-admiral, and Sir Henry Marom, rear-admiral. They sailed first to the Downs, and from hence to the north, where the Dutch busses were fishing upon our coast. The admiral required them to forbear; which they not seeming disposed to do, he fired upon them: this put them into great confusion, and obliged them to have recourse to other methods. The Dutch, therefore, applied themselves to the earl of Northumberland; desired him to mediate with the king, that they might have leave to go on with their fishing this year, for which they were content to pay 30,000 l. and expressed also a willingness to obtain a grant from the king, for his permission for their vessels to fish there for the time to come, paying an annual tribute.

Such is the best account that can be collected of the causes and consequences of this expedition, from our best historians. But the earl of Northumberland delivered a journal of his whole proceedings, signed  
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with his own hand; which is, or at least was preserved in the paper-office. In that journal, there are several memorable particulars. The Dutch fishing-busses, upon the appearance of his lordship's fleet, did take licences, to the number of two hundred, though he arrived amongst them pretty late in the year. He exacted from them twelve pence per ton, as an acknowledgment; and affirms that they went away well satisfied. It was pretended by the Dutch in king Charles the second's time, that this was an act of violence; and that nothing could be concluded as to the right of this crown, from that transaction: since the Dutch did not pay, because they thought what was insisted upon to be due, but, because they were defenceless. His lordship's journal sets this pretence entirely aside; since it appeared from thence, that they had a squadron of ten men of war for their protection; as also, that August the 20th, 1636, the Dutch vice-admiral Dorp, came with a fleet of twenty men of war: but instead of interrupting the earl in his proceedings, he saluted him by lowering his topsails, striking his flag and firing his guns; after which he came on board, and was well entertained by the earl of Northumberland. It is farther mentioned in that journal, that upon his lordship's return from the north, and anchoring in the Downs, he had notice of a Spanish fleet of twenty-six sail, bound for Dunkirk; to reconnoitre which he sent one of the ships of his squadron, called the Happy Entrance; to which single ship, that fleet paid the marks of respect, which were due to the English flag whenever it appeared.

The king meant to have continued both this method of raising money, and of fitting out fleets annually; and by giving several young noblemen commands at sea, to have rendered them the more capable of serving their country in times of greater danger: but he quickly found this impracticable. The nation grew so exceedingly dissatisfied with this method



method of raising money, and the great case of Mr. Hampden made it so clear, that a constant and regular levying of this tax was dangerous to the constitution, and to the freedom of the subject; that the king was obliged to lay aside this scheme, and to content himself with using all the methods that could be thought of, to awaken the people's attention in regard to the sovereignty of the sea. With this view, his majesty made an order in council, that a copy of Mr. Selden's book upon that subject, should be kept in the council-chest, that another copy should be kept in the court of exchequer, and a third in the court of admiralty; there to remain as perpetual evidence of our just claim to the dominion of the seas.

Nothing of consequence occurs in regard to naval affairs till the year 1639, when the Spaniards fitted out a powerful fleet, consisting of sixty-seven sail of large ships, manned with 25,000 seamen, and having on board 12,000 land forces, designed for the relief of Flanders. The Dutch had two or three squadrons at sea; the Spanish fleet coming up the channel, was met in the streights by one of them, consisting of seventeen sail, under the command of Martin, the son of Herbert Van Tromp, who, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority, attacked them: but finding himself too weak, was obliged to sheer off towards Dunkirk; where, being joined by the other squadrons, he so roughly handled the Spanish fleet, under the command of Don Antonio de Oquendo, that at last he forced them on the English coast near Dover.

Admiral Van Tromp finding himself in want of powder and ball, stood away for Calais; where he was liberally supplied by the governor, and then returned to attack the enemy. Upon his approach, the Spaniards got within the South-Foreland, and put themselves under the protection of our castles. Things being in this situation, the Spanish resident importuned king Charles, that he would oblige the  
Dutch

Dutch to forbear hostilities for two tides, that the Spaniards might have an opportunity of bearing away for their own coast; but the king being in amity with both powers, was resolved to stand neuter: and whereas the Spaniards had hired some English ships to transport their soldiers to Dunkirk, upon complaint made thereof by the Dutch ambassadors, strict orders were given, that no ships or vessels belonging to his majesty's subjects, should take any Spaniard on board, or pass below Gravesend without licence.

However, after much plotting and counterplotting on both sides, the Spaniard at length outwitted his enemy; and found means, by a stratagem in the night, to convey away through the Downs, round by the North-Sand-Head, and the back of the Godwin, twelve large ships to Dunkirk, and in them four thousand men. In excuse of this gross neglect of the Dutch admirals, in leaving that avenue from the Downs unguarded; they affirmed they were assured by the English, that no ships of any considerable burden could venture by night to sail that way. The two fleets had now continued in their stations near three weeks, when king Charles sent the earl of Arundel to the admiral of Spain, to desire him to retreat upon the first fair wind: but by this time the Dutch fleet was, by continual reinforcements from Zealand and Holland, increased to an hundred sail; and seeming disposed to attack their enemies, Sir John Pennington, admiral of his majesty's fleet, who lay in the Downs with thirty-four men of war, acquainted the Dutch admiral, that he had received orders to act in defence of either of the two parties, which should be first attacked.

The Spaniards, however, growing too presumptuous on the protection they enjoyed, a day or two after, fired some shot at Van Tromp's barge, when himself was in her; and killed a man with a cannon-ball on board of a Dutch ship, whose dead body was presently sent on

board Sir John Pennington, as a proof that the Spaniards were the first aggressors, and had violated the neutrality of the king of England's harbour. Soon after this the Dutch admiral, on receiving fresh orders from the states, came to a resolution of attacking the Spaniards; but before he put it in execution, he thought fit to write to admiral Pennington, telling him, that the Spaniards having infringed the liberties of the king of England's harbours, and being clearly become the aggressors, he found himself obliged to repel force by force, and attack them; in which, pursuant to the declaration he had made to him, he not only hoped for, but depended on his assistance: which, however, if he should not please to grant, he requested the favour, that he would at least give him leave to engage the enemy; otherwise he should have just cause of complaint to all the world, of so manifest an injury.

This letter being delivered to the English admiral, Van Tromp immediately weighed and stood to the Spaniards in six divisions, cannonading them furiously, and vigorously pressing them at the same time with his fire-ships; so that he quickly forced them all to cut their cables, and of fifty-three, which the Spaniards were in number, twenty-three ran ashore and stranded in the Downs: of these, three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shore. The remainder of the twenty-three, which were stranded and deserted by the Spaniards, were manned by the English, to save them from falling into the hands of the Dutch. The other Spanish ships, with Don Antonio de Oquendo, the commander in chief, and Lopez, admiral of Portugal, got out to sea, and kept in good order, till a thick fog arising, the Dutch took advantage thereof, interposed between the admirals and their fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when only ten escaped. The first hostility having been indisputably committed by the Spaniards, was a plea of which the Dutch made use in  
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their justification to us; and at the same time became a sufficient argument to defend the conduct of the English government, in suffering one friend to destroy another within its harbours.

It may not be amiss to observe, that in reality the people of England were not sorry for this misfortune that befel the Spaniards, though the court took all the care imaginable to prevent it: and the reason of this was, that some surmised this to be a new Spanish Armada, fitted out nominally against the Dutch; but in truth, intended to act against heretics in general.

The expedition of the marquis of Hamilton against the Scots, was undertaken this year; in which there is very little worth mentioning. He arrived in the Frith of Forth the first of May: there he continued for some time, treating with the Scots to little or no purpose, till the season being lost, he returned without effecting any thing.

The fleet was from this time forward so entirely out of the king's power, that the naval history of this reign ends properly here: and therefore having already related, the several expeditions undertaken by his authority, we come now to mention the progress of trade, the increase of shipping, and the encouragement of our plantations, during the same space.

This prince, before the rebellion broke out, among others, added one ship to the royal navy of England; which on account of its size, and other remarkable particulars, deserves to be mentioned in this place, more especially as it has escaped the notice of all our naval writers. This famous vessel was built at Woolwich in 1637. She was in length by the keel 128 feet; in breadth 48 feet; in length, from the fore-end of the beak-head, to the after-end of the stern, 232 feet: and in height, from the bottom of the keel to the top of her lanthorn, 76 feet. Bore five lanthorns, the biggest of which would hold ten persons upright: had three flush-decks, a fore-castle, half-deck, quarter-deck and round-house. Her lower tier had thirty  
ports,



ports, middle tier thirty ports, third tier twenty-six ports, fore-castle twelve ports, half-deck fourteen ports; thirteen or fourteen ports more within board, beside ten pieces of chace-ordnance forward, and ten right aft, with many loop-holes in the cabins for musket-shot. She had eleven anchors, one of four thousand four hundred pounds weight. She was of the burthen of one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven tons; and was built by Peter Pett, Esq; under the inspection of Captain Phineas Pett, one of the principal officers of the navy.

It appears from Sir William Monson, and indeed from all the unprejudiced writers of those times, who were competent judges of these matters, that the commerce of this island increased exceedingly during the first fifteen years of this king's reign; insomuch that the port of London only could have supplied a hundred sail, capable of being easily converted into men of war, and well furnished with ordnance. The trade to the East Indies, which was but beginning in his father's time, became now very lucrative; and our ships gave law in those parts to almost all foreign nations. The trade to Guinea grew likewise to be of considerable benefit to the English subjects; and our intercourse with Spain, after the ending of the war, proved of infinite advantage likewise. It is true, there happened some considerable disputes between the government and the merchants, about customs, which some of the ministers of the crown thought depended immediately thereupon, and might be taken by virtue of the prerogative only; whereas others conceived, as most of the merchants themselves did, that nothing of this kind could be levied but by the consent of parliament: But these very disputes shew that trade was in a flourishing condition; for if the customs had not risen to a considerable height, beyond what they did in former times, no ministry would have run the hazard of such a contest.

But the principal source of our naval strength then, (as it has been ever since) was our plantations, to the encouragement and augmentation of which, even those accidents highly contributed, which might have been otherwise fatal to society; such as our civil and ecclesiastical divisions, which inclined numbers of sober, industrious, and thinking people, to prefer liberty, and whatever they could raise in distant and hitherto uncultivated lands, to the uneasy situation in which they found themselves at home.

The colony of Virginia had struggled under great difficulties, from the time it fell under the direction of a company, till the king was pleased to take it into his own hands; which he did very soon after his coming to the crown, and then directed the constitution of that colony to be a governor, council, and assembly, conformable to that of this kingdom, and under which the colony quickly began to flourish. That of New England had its name bestowed by his majesty when prince, and was better settled in King James's time, than any other of our colonies; and throughout the whole reign of King Charles I. was constantly supplied with large draughts of people; so that by degrees it was divided into four governments.

The papists in England, finding themselves liable to many severities, were desirous of having an asylum in the new world, as well as other nonconformists; and this gave rise to the planting of Maryland, a country which had been hitherto accounted part of Virginia, between  $37^{\circ}$  and  $40^{\circ}$  of N. L. It was granted by King Charles, the 20th of June, 1632, to the ancestor of the present Lord Baltimore, and derived its name of Maryland, from his queen Henrietta-Maria.

The Summer Islands which were planted in the last reign, and settled under a regular government in the year 1619, flourished exceedingly, the country being extremely pleasant and fruitful, and the air  
much

much more wholesome than in any other part of America. As for the island of Barbadoes, which had been regularly planted about the beginning of the king's reign, it was granted to the earl of Carlisle, who gave such encouragement to all who were inclined to go thither, and most of those who went became so speedily rich, that it was quickly well peopled, and even within this period, was esteemed the most populous of all our plantations. The island of St. Christopher and Nevis were also settled about this time.

Upon the commencement of violence between Charles and his parliament; it was natural for each party to be solicitous about the fleet, for many reasons; and for this particularly, that whoever was master of that, would be considered as the supreme power by foreign princes. The earl of Northumberland was at this time lord high-admiral: the king had given him that commission, to satisfy the house of commons, who had a confidence in him; and granted it during pleasure only, because his intention was to confer that office on his son the duke of York, as soon as he became of age. Sir Robert Mansel was vice-admiral of England; a gentleman very loyal, but withal very infirm and far in years. Sir John Pennington was vice-admiral of the fleet, then in the Downs, and Sir John Mennes was rear admiral; both well affected to his majesty.

The parliament having formed a project of dispossessing the king of his fleet, executed it successfully; notwithstanding these circumstances so favourable for his majesty, and though he had the affections of the seamen, whose wages he had raised, and for whom he had always shewn a very particular regard. In the spring of the year, 1641, the parliament desired, that is, in effect directed, the earl of Northumberland to provide a strong fleet for the nation's security by sea, and appropriated a proper fund for this service. They next desired, that he would appoint the earl of

Warwick admiral of that fleet, on account of his own indisposition, which rendered it impossible for him to command in person. The king took this ill, and insisted on Sir John Pennington's keeping his command; but the earl had so much respect to the parliament's recommendation, that he ordered the fleet to be delivered up to the earl of Warwick, and granted him a commission to command it, as by his own he had power to do. This was one great point gained. The parliament then would have made Captain Cartwright comptroller of the navy, vice-admiral in the room of Sir John Pennington; but he refusing to undertake this service without the king's permission, his majesty was pleased to signify his pleasure, that he should decline it; which he did, and the parliament thereupon appointed one Batten, vice-admiral, who was remarkably disaffected toward the king: and their orders being complied with, the fleet in the spring 1642, fell into their hands; though the king was persuaded in his own mind that he could at any time recover it, which was the true reason of his not removing at that time, as he afterward did, the earl of Northumberland from his high office. It was not long before he had good reason to change his opinion; for the queen, sending his majesty a small supply from Holland, in the *Providence*, the only ship the king had left, the ships from the Downs chased the vessel into the Humber, and there forced the captain to run her ashore. Upon this the king resolved to attempt seizing the fleet; and the design, had it been executed as well as it was laid, might very probably have taken effect; but through the mismanagement of Sir John Pennington it miscarried, and served only to defeat the king's hopes for the future, by affording the earl of Warwick an opportunity of removing all the king's friends, which he had long wanted.

The parliament, as they had discovered great care and industry in securing, so they shewed no less wis-



dom in the conduct of the fleet, which they always kept in good order and well paid. In 1643, vice-admiral Batten having intelligence, that the queen intended to go by sea from Holland into the north of England, he did his utmost to intercept her, though on board a Dutch man of war. This proving ineffectual, he chased the ship into Burlington-Bay; and when the queen was landed, having intelligence that she lodged in a house upon the key, he fired upon it, so that many of the shot went through her chamber; and she was obliged, though very much indisposed, to retire for safety into the open fields. This service, which was performed in the month of February, was very grateful to the parliament, because it shewed how much the officers of the fleet were in their interest.

While the presbyterian party remained uppermost, all affairs relating to the navy went on smoothly. The earl of Warwick was entirely devoted to them, and so were all the officers by him appointed. Every summer a stout squadron was fitted out to serve as occasion required, and by this means the trade of the nation was tolerably protected. But in the year 1648, when the independents came by their intrigues to prevail, things took a new turn, and it was resolved to remove the earl of Warwick from his command, notwithstanding the services he had performed, and to make Colonel Rainsborough admiral. This gentleman had been bred a seaman, and was the son of a commander of distinction; but had for some time served as an officer in the parliament-army, and was then a colonel of foot. When this news came to the fleet in the Downs, it put the seamen into great confusion; and their officers, the earl of Warwick, and vice-admiral Batten, were so little pleased with the usage they had met with, that instead of softening, they augmented their discontents: insomuch, that they seized upon Rainsborough, and such officers as adhered to him, set them on shore, and resolved to

fail over to Holland, in order to take on board the duke of York, whom they called their admiral; because the king's intention of making him so, was a thing generally known.

Though the king was then a prisoner, and his affairs reduced to a very low ebb, yet, if this revolt of the fleet had been properly managed, it might have had very happy effects: but as it was conducted, it is scarcely possible to conceive how little advantage was drawn from an incident which promised so much. The great misfortune was, that this strange turn was entirely concerted by the seamen; so that when they declared for the king, they had very few officers among them; and as they were little inclined to use the advice of any who were not of their own profession, there was a good deal of time lost before they positively resolved what to do. This gave the parliament an opportunity of recovering themselves from the consternation into which this unexpected event had thrown them; and the first resolution they took was a very wise one, viz. the restoring the earl of Warwick to his title and command, sending him orders to draw together a fleet as soon as possible.

It was about this time that the parliament, if the assembly which then met as one, could be considered as the national body, brought the king to a public trial; in consequence of which he was executed at Whitehall, January 30th 1649: a transaction so singular in its nature, and so much being to be said on both sides; that it is not easy to decide on; nor can we pretend to enter on the merits of it in our brief narrative. Thus much however may be observed; that Charles did not suffer so extraordinary a fate, so much for violating the old constitution, as to make way for the introduction of a new one: one, which after the commotions so naturally to be expected, in such an undertaking, has happily settled in that moderate frame of government, under which we now live. But to proceed in our detail.

The

The parliament recovered their sovereignty at sea; where they kept such strong squadrons continually cruising, that it was not thought adviseable for King Charles II. to venture his person on that element, in order to go to Ireland, where his presence was necessary. Yet the earl of Warwick, who had served them so faithfully, and with such success, was removed from the command of the fleet, which was put into the hands of land-officers, such as Blake, Deane, and Popham; who, notwithstanding, behaved well, quickly gained the love of the sailors, and grew in a short time very knowing seamen themselves.

Blake was a man of heroic courage and a generous disposition, the same person who had defended Lyme and Taunton with such unshaken obstinacy against the king; and though he had hitherto been accustomed only to land service, into which too he had not entered till past fifty years of age, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a higher pitch than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was committed to him; and he received orders to pursue Prince Rupert, to whom the king had given the command of that squadron, which had deserted to him. Rupert took shelter in Kinsale; and escaping thence, fled toward the coast of Portugal. Blake pursued, and chased him into the Tagus; where he intended to attack that prince: but the king of Portugal, moved by the favour, which, throughout all Europe, attended the royal cause, refused Blake admittance, and aided Prince Rupert in making his escape. To be revenged of this partiality, the English admiral made prize of twenty Portuguese ships richly laden, and threatened still farther vengeance. The king of Portugal, dreading so dangerous a foe to his new acquired dominion, and sensible of the unequal contest, in which he was engaged, made all possible submissions to the haughty republic, and was at last admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England. Prince Rupert, having lost a great part of his squa-

dron on the coast of Spain, made sail toward the West Indies. His brother, Prince Maurice, was there ship-wrecked in a hurricane. Every where, this squadron subsisted by privateering, sometimes on English, sometimes on Spanish vessels. And Rupert at last returned to France; where he disposed of the remnants of his fleet, together with all his prizes.

All the settlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the settlement of the republic; and Sir George Ayscue was sent with a squadron to reduce them to obedience. Bermudas, Antigua, Virginia, were soon subdued. Barbadoes, commanded by Lord Willoughby of Parham, made some resistance; but was at last obliged to submit.

With equal ease were Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the isle of Man, brought under subjection to the republic; and the sea, which had been much infested by privateers from these islands, was rendered entirely safe to the English commerce. The countess of Derby defended the isle of Man; and with great reluctance yielded to the necessity of surrendering to the enemy. This lady, a daughter of the illustrious house of Trimouille in France, had, during the civil wars, displayed a manly courage by her obstinate defence of Latham House against the parliamentary forces; and she retained the glory of being the last person in the three kingdoms, and in all their dependant dominions, who submitted to the victorious commonwealth.

The movements of great states are often directed by as slender springs as those of individuals. Though war with so considerable a naval power as the Dutch, who were in peace with all their other neighbours, might seem dangerous to the yet unsettled commonwealth, there were several motives, which at this time induced the English parliament to embrace hostile measures,

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The causes of this war are differently related, according to the humours and opinions of different writers: the truth, however, seems to be, that the old commonwealth grew quickly jealous of the new one, and began to apprehend, that, whatever the rest of the world might be, Holland was like to be no gainer by this change of government in England. The parliament, on the other side, was no less jealous of its new acquired sovereignty, and expected, therefore, extraordinary marks of regard from all the powers with which it corresponded. To divert the attention of the public from domestic quarrels toward foreign transactions; seemed also in the present disposition of mens minds to be good policy. The superior power of the English commonwealth, together with the advantages of situation, promised it success; and the parliamentary leaders hoped to gain many rich prizes from the Dutch, to distress and sink their flourishing commerce, and by victories to throw a lustre on their establishment, which was so new and unpopular.

To cover these hostile intentions, the parliament, under pretence of providing for the interests of commerce, embraced such measures as they knew would give disgust to the States. They framed the famous act of navigation; which prohibited all nations to import into England in their bottoms any commodity, which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. By this law, though the terms, in which it was conceived, were general, the Dutch were principally hurt; because their country produces few commodities, and they subsist chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of the world. Letters of reprisal were granted to several merchants, who complained of injuries, which, as they pretended, they had received from the States; and above eighty Dutch ships fell into their hands, and were made prize of. The cruelties practised on the English at Amboyna, which were certainly enormous, but which seemed

seemed to be buried in oblivion by a thirty years silence, were again, with some other matters, made the grounds of complaint. The minds of men, in both states, were every day more and more irritated against each other; and it was not long before these malignant humours broke forth into action.

Tromp, an admiral of great renown, received from the States the command of a fleet of forty-two sail, in order to protect the Dutch navigation against the privateers of the English. He was forced by stress of weather, as he alleged, to take shelter in the road of Dover; where he met with Blake, who commanded an English fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggressor in the action, which ensued between these two admirals, both of them men of such prompt and fiery dispositions, it is not easy to determine; since each of them sent to his own state a relation totally opposite in all its circumstances to that of the other, and yet supported by the testimony of every captain in his fleet. Blake pretended, that, having given a signal to the Dutch admiral to strike, Tromp, instead of complying, fired a broad-side at him. Tromp asserted, that he was preparing to strike, and that the English admiral, nevertheless, began hostilities. It is certain, that the admiralty of Holland, who are distinct from the council of state, had given Tromp no orders to strike, but had left him to his own discretion with regard to that vain, but much contested ceremonial. They seemed willing to introduce the claim of an equality with the new commonwealth, and to interpret the former respect, which they had ever paid the English flag, as a deference due only to the monarchy. This circumstance forms a strong presumption against the narrative of the Dutch admiral. The whole Orange party, it must be remarked, to which Tromp was suspected to adhere, were desirous of a war with England.

Blake, though his squadron consisted only of fifteen vessels, re-inforced, after the battle began, by eight  
under

under Captain Bourne, maintained the fight with great bravery for five hours, and sunk one ship of the enemy, and took another. Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired toward the coast of Holland. The populace of London were enraged, and would have insulted the Dutch ambassadors, who lived at Chelsea, had not the council of state sent guards to protect them.

When the States heard of this action, of which the fatal consequences were easily foreseen, they were in the utmost consternation. They immediately dispatched Paw, pensionary of Holland, as their ambassador extraordinary to London; and ordered him to lay before the parliament the narrative which Tromp had sent of the late rencounter. They entreated them, by all the bands of their common religion, and common liberties, not to precipitate themselves into hostile measures, but to appoint commissioners, who should examine every circumstance of the action, and clear up the truth, which lay in obscurity. And they pretended, that they had given no orders to their admiral to offer any violence to the English, but would severely punish him, if they found upon enquiry, that he had been guilty of an action, which they so much disapproved. The parliament would hearken to none of these reasons or remonstrances. Elated with the numerous successes, which they had obtained over their domestic enemies, they thought, that every thing must yield to their fortunate arms; and they gladly seized the opportunity, which they sought, of making war upon the States. They demanded, that, without any farther delay or enquiry, reparation should be made for all the damages which the English had sustained. And when this demand was not complied with, they dispatched orders for commencing war against the United Provinces.

Blake sailed northward with a numerous fleet, and fell upon the herring buffes, which were escorted by twelve men of war. All these he either took or dispersed.

persed. Tromp followed him with a fleet of above a hundred sail. When these two admirals were within sight of each other, and preparing for battle, a furious storm attacked them. Blake took shelter in the English harbours. The Dutch fleet was dispersed and received great damage.

Sir George Ayscue, though he commanded only forty ships according to the English accounts, engaged near Plymouth the famous de Ruyter, who had under him fifty ships of war, with thirty merchant-men. The Dutch ships were indeed of inferior force to the English. De Ruyter, the only admiral in Europe, who has attained a renown equal to that of the greatest general, defended himself so well, that Ayscue gained no advantage over him. Night parted them in the greatest heat of the action. De Ruyter next day sailed off with his convoy. The English had been so shattered in the fight, that they were not able to pursue.

Near the coast of Kent, Blake, seconded by Bourne and Pen, met the Dutch fleet, nearly equal in number, commanded by de Witte and de Ruyter. A battle was fought much to the disadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear-admiral was boarded and taken. Two other vessels were sunk, and one blown up. The Dutch fleet next day made sail toward Holland.

The English were not so successful in the Mediterranean. Van Galen with much superior force attacked Captain Badily, and defeated him. He bought, however, his victory with the loss of his life.

Sea-fights are seldom so decisive as to disable the vanquished from making head in a little time against the victors. Tromp, seconded by de Ruyter, met near the Goodwins, with Blake, whose fleet was inferior to the Dutch; but who was resolved not to decline the combat. A furious battle commenced, where the admirals on both sides, as well as the inferior officers and seamen, exerted extraordinary bravery. In this action, the Dutch had the advantage. Blake  
himself



himself was wounded. The *Garland* and *Bonaventure* were taken. Two ships were burned, and one sunk; and night came very opportunely to save the English fleet. After this victory, Tromp, in a bravado, fixed a broom to his main-mast; as if he were resolved to sweep the sea entirely of all English vessels.

Great preparations were made in England, in order to wipe off this disgrace. A gallant fleet of eighty sail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and Dean under him, together with Monk, who had been sent for from Scotland. When the English lay off Portland, they descried near break of day the Dutch fleet of seventy-six vessels, sailing up the channel, along with a convoy of 300 merchant-men, who had received orders to wait at the isle of Rhé, till the fleet should arrive to escort them. Tromp and de Ruyter commanded the Dutch. This battle was the most furious which had yet been fought, between these warlike and rival nations. Three days was the battle continued with the utmost rage and obstinacy: and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honour than Tromp, who was vanquished. The Dutch admiral made a skilful retreat, and saved all the merchant ships, except thirty. He lost however eleven ships of war, had 2000 men slain, and 1500 taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were extremely shattered, had but one sunk. Their slain were not much inferior in number to those of the enemy.

All these successes of the English were chiefly owing to the superior size of their vessels; an advantage which all the skill and bravery of the Dutch admirals could not compensate. By means of ship-money, an imposition, which had been so much complained of, and in some respects with reason, the late king had put the navy into a situation, which it had never attained in any former reign: and he ventured to build ships of a size which was then unusual. But the misfortunes which the Dutch met with in battle, were  
small

small in comparison of those which their trade sustained from the English. Their whole commerce by the Channel was cut off. Even that to the Baltic was much infested by the English privateers. Their fisheries were totally suspended. A great number of their ships, above 1600, had fallen into the enemy's hands. And all this distress they suffered, not for any national interest or necessity; but from vain points of honour and personal resentments, of which it was difficult to give a satisfactory account to the public. They resolved therefore to gratify the pride of the parliament, and to make some advances toward a peace. Their reception, however, was not favourable; and it was not without pleasure, that they learned the dissolution of that haughty assembly by the violence of Cromwel; an event from which they expected a more prosperous turn to their affairs.

The Dutch, however, did not instantly receive any great benefit from this sudden revolution; but then it must be considered, that the chief officers of the fleet concurred in this measure. The government of the parliament, was a government of order and laws, (however they came by their authority) the government of the general, afterward protector, was entirely military: no wonder, therefore, that both the navy and the army were pleased with him. Some advantage, however, the enemy certainly reaped from this change in English affairs; for Van Tromp conveyed a great fleet of merchant-men to the north, (for they were now forced to try that rout rather than the channel) and though our navy followed him to the height of Aberdeen, yet it was to no purpose: he escaped them both going and coming back, which gave him an opportunity of coming into the Downs, making some prizes, and battering Dover castle. This scene of triumph lasted but a bare week; for Tromp came thither on the 26th of May, and on the last of that month he had intelligence, that Monk and Deane, who commanded the English fleet, were approaching,

and that their whole fleet consisted of ninety-five sail of men of war, and five fire-ships. The Dutch had ninety-eight men of war, and six fire-ships; and both fleets were commanded by men the most remarkable for courage and conduct in either nation.

On the 2d of June in the morning, the English fleet discovered the enemy, whom they immediately attacked with great vigour. The action began about 11 o'clock; and the first broadside from the enemy, carried off the brave admiral Deane, whose body was almost cut in two by a chain-shot. Monk, with much presence of mind, covered his body with his cloak: and here appeared the wisdom of having both admirals on board the same ship; for as no flag was taken in, the fleet had no notice of this accident, but the fight continued with the same warmth as if it had not happened. The fight continued very hot till three o'clock, when the Dutch fell into great confusion, and Tromp saw himself obliged to make a kind of running fight till nine in the evening, when a stout ship, commanded by Cornelius van Velsen, blew up. This increased the consternation in which they were before; and though Tromp used every method in his power to oblige the officers to do their duty, and even fired upon such ships as drew out of the line; yet it was to no purpose, but rather served to increase their misfortune. In the night, Blake arrived in the English fleet, with a squadron of eighteen ships, and so had his share in the second day's engagement.

Admiral Tromp did all that was consistent with his honour, to avoid fighting the next day; but the English fleet came up with him again by eight in the morning, and engaged with the utmost fury for about four hours; and vice-admiral Penn boarded Tromp twice, and had taken him, if he had not been seasonably relieved by de Witte and de Ruyter. At last the Dutch fell again into confusion, which was so great, that a plain flight quickly followed; and they escaped to Zealand. Our writers agree, that the Dutch had  
fix

six of their best ships sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; six of their principal captains were made prisoners, and upward of fifteen hundred men. Among the ships before mentioned, one was a vice, and two were rear-admirals. We need not wonder then, that the Dutch, whilst in such circumstances, sent ambassadors into England, to negotiate a peace almost on any terms. These Cromwell received with haughtiness enough, talked high, and assumed to himself the credit of former victories, in which he could have little share, but of which he very ably availed himself now. The States, however, were far from trusting entirely to negotiations; but at the time they treated, laboured with the utmost diligence to repair their past losses, and to fit out a new fleet. This was a very difficult task; and in order to effect it, they were forced to raise the seamen's wages, though their trade was at a full stop: they came down in person to their ports, and saw their men embarked, and advanced them wages beforehand; and promised them, if they would fight once again, they would never ask them to fight more. The scheme laid down by the States was this, that to force the English fleet to leave their ports, this navy of theirs should come and block up ours. But first it was resolved, Van Tromp should sail to the mouth of the Texel, where de Ruyter, with twenty-five sail of stout ships, was kept in by the English fleet, in order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their station, and give the Dutch squadron thereby an opportunity of coming out.

On the 29th of July 1653, the Dutch fleet appeared in sight of the English, upon which the latter did their utmost to engage them: but Van Tromp, having in view the release of de Witte, rather than fighting, kept off; so that it was seven at night before General Monk in the Resolution, with about thirty ships, great and small, came up with them, and charged through their fleet. It growing dark soon after, there passed nothing more that night, Monk  
sailing



sailing to the south, and Van Tromp to the northward; and this not being suspected by the English, he both joined de Witte's squadron, and gained the weather-gage. The next day proving very foul and windy, the sea ran so high, that it was impossible for the fleets to engage, the English particularly, finding it hard enough to avoid running upon the enemy's coasts.

On Sunday July 31, the weather being become favourable, both fleets engaged with terrible fury. The battle lasted at least eight hours, and was the most hard-fought of any that had happened throughout the war. The Dutch fire-ships were managed with great dexterity; many of the large vessels in the English fleet were in the utmost danger of perishing by them; and the *Triumph* was so effectually fired, that most of her crew threw themselves into the sea, and yet those few who staid behind, were so lucky as to put it out. Lawfon engaged de Ruyter briskly, killed and wounded above half his men, and so disabled his ship, that it was towed out of the fleet: yet the admiral did not leave the battle so, but returned in a galliot, and went on board another ship. About noon, Van Tromp was shot through the body with a musket-ball, as he was giving orders. This miserably discouraged his countrymen; so that by two, they began to fly in great confusion, having but one flag standing amongst them. The lightest frigates in the English fleet pursued them closely, till the Dutch admiral, perceiving they were but small, and of no great strength, turned his helm, and resolved to engage them; but some bigger ships coming into their assistance, the Dutchman was taken. It was night by that time their scattered fleet recovered the Texel.

This was a terrible blow to the Dutch, of whom, according to Monk's letter, no less than thirty ships were lost; but, from better intelligence, it appeared, that four of these had escaped, two into a port of Zealand, and two into Hamburgh. Their loss, however,

was very great : between four and five thousand men killed, twenty-six ships of war either burnt or sunk. On the side of the English, there were two ships only, viz. the Oak and the Hunter frigate burnt, and upward of five hundred seamen.

Some very singular circumstances attended this extraordinary victory, and deserve therefore to be mentioned. There were several merchant-men in the fleet, and Monk, finding occasion to employ them, thought proper to send their captains to each other's ships, in order to take off their concern for their owners vessels and cargoes ; a scheme which answered his purpose perfectly well, no ships in the fleet behaving better. He had likewise issued his orders in the beginning of the fight, that they should not either give or take quarter ; which, however, were not so strictly observed, but that twelve hundred Dutchmen were taken out of the sea, while their ships were sinking.

The parliament then sitting, who were of Cromwell's appointment, upon the eighth of August 1653, ordered gold chains to be sent to the generals Blake and Monk, and likewise to vice-admiral Penn, and rear-admiral Lawson ; they sent also chains to the rest of the flag-officers, and medals to the captains. The 25th of August was appointed for a day of solemn thanksgiving, and Monk being then in town, Cromwell, at a great feast in the city, put the gold chain about his neck, and obliged him to wear it all dinner-time. As for the States, they supported their loss with inexpressible courage and constancy : they buried Tromp very magnificently at the public expence.

From the rigorous terms prescribed by the parliament, the negotiation carried on by the Dutch ministers at London, met at first with many difficulties : but an accident (if indeed the effect of Cromwell's intrigues ought to be called so) delivered them out of their distress. The parliament, on the 12th of December 1653, took a sudden resolution of delivering up their power to him from whom it came, viz. the

lord general Cromwell; who soon after took upon him the supreme magistracy, under the title of protector. He quickly admitted the Dutch to a treaty upon softer conditions, though he affected to make use of high terms; and this treaty ended in a peace, which was made the fourth of April 1654. In this negotiation it was in the first place stipulated, that such as could be found of the persons concerned in the massacre at Amboyna, should be delivered up to justice. This was very specious, and calculated to give the people a high idea of the protector's patriotism, who thus compelled the Dutch to make satisfaction for an offence, which the two former kings could never bring them to acknowledge. But as this article was never executed, so we may reasonably conclude, that the Dutch knew the protector's mind before they made him this boasted concession. They acknowledged the dominion of the English at sea, by consenting to strike the flag, submitted to the act of navigation, undertook to give the East India company satisfaction for the losses they had sustained; and by a private article bound themselves, never to elect any of the house of Orange to the dignity of Stadtholder.

The war between England and Holland had not continued quite two years; and yet, in that time, the English took no less than one thousand seven hundred prizes, valued by the Dutch themselves at sixty-two millions of guilders, or near six millions sterling. On the contrary, those taken by the Dutch could not amount to the fourth part, either in number or value. Within that space the English were victorious in no less than five general battles, whereas the Hollanders cannot justly boast of having gained one. For the action between de Ruyter and Ayscue, in which they pretended some advantage, was no general fight; and the advantage gained by Tromp in the Downs, is owned to have been gained over a part only of the English fleet. As short as this quarrel was, it brought

the Dutch to greater extremities, than their fourscore years war with Spain.

Hostilities between France and England still continued; our ships of war taking, sinking, or burning theirs wherever they met them; and the French privateers disturbing our commerce as much as they were able. An attempt was made by the French ministry, to have got France, as well as Denmark, included in the peace made with the states: but Cromwell would not hear of this, because he knew how to make his advantage of the difficulties the French then laboured under another way; in which he succeeded perfectly well, obliging them in 1655, to submit to his own terms, and to give up the interests of the royal family, notwithstanding their near relation to the house of Bourbon. He likewise obtained a very advantageous treaty of commerce; and without question his conduct with regard to France would have deserved commendation, if, for the sake of securing his own government, he had not entered too readily into the views of cardinal Mazarine, and thereby contributed to the aggrandizing of a power which has been troublesome to Europe ever since. It is generally supposed, that the primary as well as principal instigation to the Spanish war came from him; who gave the protector to understand, that the English maritime force could not be better employed, than in conquering part of the Spanish West Indies, while France attacked the same crown in Europe; and to purchase his assistance, would readily relinquish the royal family, and so rid him from all fears of an invasion.

No sooner was the Dutch war ended, than the protector ordered his navy to be repaired, augmented, and put into good condition; whence it was evident enough, that he intended not to be idle, though nobody knew against whom this new force was to be exerted. In the summer of the year 1654, he ordered two great fleets to be provided: and while he

was



was making these preparations, all the neighbouring nations, ignorant of his intentions, remained in suspense, and looked with anxious expectation on what side the storm would discharge itself. One of the squadrons, consisting of thirty capital ships, was sent into the Mediterranean under Blake; whose fame was now spread over all Europe. No English fleet, except during the Croisades, had ever before sailed those seas; and from one extremity to the other, there was no naval force, Christian or Mahometan, able to resist them. The Roman pontiff, whose weakness and whose pride, equally provoke attacks, dreaded invasion from a power, which professed the most inveterate enmity against him; and which so little regulated its movements by the common motives of interest and prudence. Blake, casting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained of the duke of Tuscany satisfaction for some losses, which the English commerce had formerly sustained from him. He next sailed to Algiers, and compelled the Dey to make peace; and to restrain his pyritical subjects from all farther violences on the English. He presented himself before Tunis, and having made the same demands, the Dey of that republic bade him look to the castles of Porto-Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake needed not to be roused by such a bravado: he drew his ships close up to the castles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery. He sent a numerous detachment of seamen in their long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ship which lay there. This bold action, which its very temerity, perhaps, rendered safe, was executed with very little loss; and filled that part of the world with the renown of English valour.

The other squadron was not equally successful. It was commanded by Pen; and carried on board 4000 men, under the command of Venables. About 5000 more joined them from Barbadoes and St. Christophers. Both these officers were inclined to the king's

service; and it is pretended, that Cromwel was obliged to hurry the soldiers on board, in order to prevent the execution of a conspiracy, which had been formed among them, in favour of the exiled family. The ill success of this enterprize, may justly be ascribed, as much to the injudicious contrivance of the protector, who planned it, as to the bad execution of the officers, by whom it was conducted.

It was agreed by the admiral and general to attempt St. Domingo, the only place of strength in the island of Hispaniola. On the approach of the English, the Spaniards in a fright deserted their houses, and fled into the woods. Contrary to the opinion of Venables, the soldiers were disembarked without guides ten leagues distant from the town. They wandered four days through the woods without provisions; and what was still more intolerable in that sultry climate, without water. The Spaniards gathered courage, and attacked them. The English, discouraged with the bad conduct of their officers, and scarce alive from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, had no spirit to resist. A very inconsiderable number of the enemy put the whole army to rout; killed 600 of them, and chased the rest on board their vessels.

The English commanders, in order to atone, if possible, for this unprosperous attempt, bent their course to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without a blow. Pen and Venables returned to England, and were both of them sent to the Tower by the protector, who, though commonly master of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent passion at this disappointment. He had made a conquest of much greater importance, than he was himself at that time aware of; yet was it much inferior to the vast projects, which he had formed. He gave orders, however, to support it by men and money; and that island has ever since remained in the hands of the English: the chief acquisition which they owe to the enterprising spirit of Cromwel.

As soon as the news of this enterprize, which was a most unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war against England; and seized all the ships and goods of English merchants, of which they could make themselves masters. The Spanish commerce, so profitable to the nation, was cut off; and near 1500 vessels, it is computed, fell in a few years into the hands of the enemy. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, after receiving new orders, prepared himself for hostilities against the Spaniards.

Blake lay some time off Cadiz, in expectation of intercepting the plate-fleet; but was obliged, for want of water, to make sail toward Portugal. Captain Steyner, whom he had left on the coast with a squadron of seven vessels, came in sight of the galleons, and immediately set sail to pursue them. The Spanish admiral ran his ship ashore; two others followed his example: the English took two ships, valued at near two millions of pieces of eight: two galleons were set on fire; and the marquis of Bajadox, viceroy of Peru, with his wife and his daughter, betrothed to the young duke of Medina Celi, were destroyed in them. The marquis himself might have escaped; but seeing these unfortunate women, astonished with the danger, fall in a swoon, and perish in the flames, he chose rather to die with them, than drag out a life, embittered with the remembrance of these dismal scenes. When the treasures, gained by this enterprize, arrived at Portsmouth, the protector, from a spirit of ostentation, ordered them to be transported by land to London.

The next action against the Spaniards was more glorious, though less profitable to the nation. Blake, having heard that a Spanish fleet of sixteen ships, much richer than the former, had taken shelter in the Canaries, immediately made sail toward them. He found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, disposed in a most formidable posture. The bay was secured

with a strong castle, well fortified with cannon; beside seven forts in several parts of it, all united by a line of communication, manned with musqueteers. Don Diego Diagues, the Spanish admiral, ordered all his smaller vessels to moor close to the shore; and posted the larger galleons farther off, at anchor, with their broadsides to the sea.

Blake was rather animated, than daunted with this appearance. The wind seconded his courage; and blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickest of his enemies. After a resistance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to the English valour; and abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasures. The greatest danger still remained to the English. They lay under the fire of the castles and all the forts, which must, in a little time, have torn them in pieces. But the wind suddenly shifting, carried them out of the bay; where they left the Spaniards in astonishment at the happy temerity of their audacious victors.

This was the last and greatest action of the gallant Blake. He was consumed with a dropsy and scurvy, and hastened home, that he might yield up his last breath in his native country; which he so passionately loved, and which he had so much adorned by his valour. As he came within sight of land, he expired. Never man, so zealous for a faction, was so much respected and esteemed even by the opposite factions. He was by principle an inflexible republican; and the late usurpations, amidst all the trust and caresses which he received from the ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. "It is still our duty (he said to the seamen) to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government may fall." Disinterested, generous, liberal; ambitious only of true glory; dreadful only to his avowed enemies: he forms one of the most perfect characters of that age, and the least stained with those errors and violences, which were then so predominant. The pro-



protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge: but the tears of his countrymen were the most honourable panegyric on his memory.

When the confusions of a distracted state, rendered the restoration of the king, the most eligible alternative; the seamen shewed greater readiness than any other sort of men to execute this salutary design: and without waiting for any farther orders, than those which came from their own officers, chearfully carried the fleet over to the Dutch coast; where, after giving new names to the ships, they received his majesty, the duke of York, and other persons of principal quality, who had attended him, on board, the 23d of May, 1660, and safely landed them in Kent. For this service, Mr. Montague, who commanded that fleet, was created earl of Sandwich; had a garter, and was appointed vice-admiral of England, under his royal highness the duke of York. Sir John Lawson, Sir Richard Stayner, and other officers, received the honour of knighthood; and the king was pleased to promise the seamen in general, a particular share in his favour. In September, 1660, the earl of Sandwich went, with a squadron of nine men of war, to Helvoetsluys, to bring over the king's sister, the princess of Orange; who not long after died.

A treaty of marriage having been concluded between his majesty and the infanta of Portugal, with whom he was to receive a portion of three hundred thousand pounds, the island of Bombay in the East Indies, and the city of Tangier in Africa; it became necessary to send a fleet to bring over the queen, and to secure the last mentioned city against any attempt from the Moors. For this purpose, the earl of Sandwich was again sent with a numerous fleet, which sailed on the 19th of June, 1661, from the Downs. His lordship sailed first to Lisbon, and from thence to Tangier; which place was put into the hands of the English on the 30th of January, 1662, when the earl of Peterborough marched into it with an English garrison,

garrison, and had the keys delivered to him by the Portuguese governor. The admiral then returned to Lisbon, where he received the queen's portion; consisting in money, jewels, sugars, and other commodities, in bills of exchange, and then sailed with her majesty for England, and arrived at Spithead the 14th of May, 1662.

It is apparent that there was no occasion for so large a fleet, merely to bring over the queen; but as it afforded a fair pretence for sending such a force into the Mediterranean, this opportunity was seized to execute things of greater moment. The Algerines, and other pyritical states of Barbary, taking advantage of our intestine confusions, had broke the peace they made with admiral Blake. To put an end to their depredations, the earl of Sandwich, with his fleet, came before Algiers the 29th of July, 1661, and sent captain Spragge with the king's letter to the principal person in the government, and a letter of his own, with orders also to bring off Mr. Brown, the consul; which was accordingly done. Answer was returned, that the government of Algiers would consent to no peace, whereby they were deprived of the right of searching our ships. This insolence of these sea-robbers sprung out of the jealousy of the christian powers, who would never unite to crush this nest of pirates, and give the beautiful and rich country they inhabit to some prince of their own faith; which would be a common benefit to all commercial nations.

In the mean time, to shew they were in earnest, they wrought very hard at a boom, which, with much ado, they brought over from the mole-head, to the opposite corner of the port; that, by the help of this, and many other new works which they had raised, they might be able to defend themselves from any attempts that could be made by sea. The earl of Sandwich, however, resolved to make a bold trial to burn the ships in the harbour; but the wind prevented him;

him: so that after a good deal of firing on both sides, wherein more hurt was done to the city than the ships, the admiral thought fit to sail for Lisbon on the first of August, leaving Sir John Lawson, with a strong squadron to protect the English trade, and harass the enemy. This he performed with such success, that, after taking many of their ships, he, by degrees, forced all these pyratival states to conclude a peace with Great Britain, without any reservation as to their favourite article of searching our ships.

On his first return to the throne of his ancestors, king Charles and his ministers had certainly shewn a great concern for the true interest of the nation; as will appear to any attentive reader of our history, who observes the advantages we gained by the treaties of commerce which he concluded with Spain and Holland. He also restored to the nation the advantages they drew from the Spanish trade: and the affection of this people to the English, preferable to any other nation, appeared in this, that they immediately fell out with the Dutch, and even forbade their ships of war to enter their ports, as the Dutch writers themselves tell us. The treaty with Holland not only secured the respect due to the English flag, but likewise procured some other concessions very honourable for the nation, and the island of Poleron, more correctly Pulo-Ron, i. e. the isle of Ron, for the East India company. His majesty had also an intention to have secured absolutely and for ever the fishery on the British coast to his own subjects: but, before that could be effectually done, the war broke out; for the true grounds of which, it is not easy to account.

The Dutch quickly began to conceive jealous prejudices against the king's government; and in reality to apprehend our becoming their superiors in commerce, in which we were every day visibly increasing. These sentiments engaged them, and especially their East and West India companies, to take various steps in those parts of the world to the prejudice of the English.

English. The East India company particularly delayed the liquidation of the damages the English were to receive; peremptorily refused to deliver up the island before mentioned: and pretended to prescribe the places where, and the terms on which the English should trade in the rest of the ports of India. The other company trod exactly in their steps; and proceeded so far as to get Cape Corse-castle into their hands, which belonged to the English African company.

Charles confined not himself to memorials and remonstrances. Sir Robert Holmes was secretly dispatched with a squadron of twenty-two ships to the coast of Africa. He not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse, but he likewise seized the Dutch settlements of Cape Verde and the isle of Goree, together with several ships trading on that coast. And having sailed to America, he possessed himself of Nova Belgia, since called New York; a territory which James the first had given by patent to the earl of Sterling, but which had never been planted but by the Hollanders. When the states complained of these hostile measures, the king pretended to be totally ignorant of Holmes's enterprize. He likewise confined Holmes to the Tower; but some time after restored him to his liberty.

The Dutch, finding that their applications for redress were likely to be eluded, and that a ground of quarrel was industriously sought for by the English, began to arm with diligence. They even exerted, with some precipitation, an act of vigour, which hastened on the rupture. Sir John Lawson and de Ruyter had been sent with combined squadrons into the Mediterranean, in order to chastise the pyratrical states on the coast of Barbary; and the time of their separation and return was now approaching. The states secretly dispatched orders to de Ruyter, that he should take in provisions at Cadiz; and sailing toward the coast of Guinea, should retaliate on the English,



lish, and put the Dutch in possession of those settlements whence Holmes had expelled them. De Ruyter, having a considerable force on board, met with no opposition in Guinea. All the new acquisitions of the English, except Cape Corse, were recovered from them: they were even dispossessed of some old settlements. Such of their ships as fell into his hands, were seized by de Ruyter. That admiral sailed next to America: he attacked Barbadoes, but was repulsed: he afterward committed hostilities on Long Island.

Meanwhile, the English preparations for war were advancing with vigour and industry. The king had received no supplies from parliament; but by his own funds and credit, he was enabled to equip a fleet: the city of London lent him 100,000 pounds: the spirit of the nation seconded his armaments: he himself went from port to port, inspecting with great diligence, and encouraging the work: and in a little time the English navy was put in a very formidable condition. Eight hundred thousand pounds are said to have been expended on this armament. When Lawson arrived, and communicated his suspicion of de Ruyter's enterprise, orders were issued for seizing all Dutch ships; and 135 fell into the hands of the English. These were not confiscated, nor declared prizes, till afterward, when war was proclaimed.

The Dutch saw, with the utmost regret, a war approaching, whence they might dread the most fatal consequences, but which afforded no prospect of advantage. They tried every art of negotiation, before they would come to extremity. Their measures were at that time directed by John de Wit; a minister equally eminent for greatness of mind, for capacity, and for integrity. By his management, a spirit of union was preserved in all the provinces; great sums were levied; and a navy was equipped, composed of larger ships than the Dutch had ever built before, and able to cope with the fleet of England.

When certain intelligence arrived of de Ruyter's enterprizes, Charles declared war against the states, 22d Feb. 1665. His fleet, consisting of 114 sail, beside fire-ships and ketches, was commanded by the duke of York, and under him prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich. It had about 22,000 men on board. Opdam, who was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force, declined not the combat. In the heat of action, when engaged in close fight with the duke of York, Opdam's ship blew up. This accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled toward their own coast. Tromp alone, son of the famous admiral, killed during the protectorship, bravely sustained with his squadron the efforts of the English, and protected the rear of his countrymen. The vanquished had nineteen ships sunk and taken: the victors lost only one. Sir John Lawson died soon after of his wounds.

It is affirmed, and with great appearance of reason, that this victory might have been rendered much more compleat; had not orders been issued to slacken sail by Brounker, one of the duke's bedchamber, who pretended authority from his master. The duke disclaimed the orders; but Brounker never was sufficiently punished for his temerity. It is allowed, however, that the duke behaved with great bravery during the action: he was long in the thickest of the fire. The earl of Falmouth, lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle, were killed by one shot at his side, and covered him all over with their brains and gore. And it is not likely, that in a pursuit, where even persons of inferior station, and of the most cowardly disposition acquire courage; a commander should feel his spirits to flag, and should turn from the back of an enemy, whose face he had not been afraid to encounter.

This disaster threw the Dutch into consternation, and determined dé Wit, who was the soul of all their councils, to exert his military capacity, in order to support

support the declining courage of his countrymen. He went on board the fleet, which he took under his command; and he soon remedied all those disorders which had been occasioned by the late misfortune. The genius of this man was of the most extensive nature. He quickly became as much master of naval affairs, as if he had from his infancy been educated in them; and he even improved some parts of pilotage and sailing, beyond what men expert in those arts had ever been able to attain.

The misfortunes of the Dutch determined their allies to act for their assistance and support. The king of France was engaged in a defensive alliance with the States; but as his naval force was yet in its infancy, he was extremely averse, at that time, from entering into a war with so formidable a power as England. He tried long to mediate a peace between the two parties; and for that purpose sent an embassy to London, which returned without effecting any thing.

The king of France, though he was resolved to support the Hollanders in that unequal contest, in which they were engaged; yet protracted his declaration, and employed the time in naval preparations, both in the ocean and in the Mediterranean. The king of Denmark mean while was resolved not to remain an idle spectator of the contest between the maritime powers. The part which he acted was extraordinary: he made a secret agreement with Charles to seize all the Dutch ships in his harbours, and to share the spoils with the English; provided they would assist him in executing this measure. In order to increase his prey, he perfidiously invited the Dutch ships to take shelter in his ports; and accordingly the East India fleet, very richly laden, had put into Bergen. Sandwich, who now commanded the English navy (the duke having gone ashore) dispatched Sir Thomas Tiddiman with a squadron to attack them; but whether from the king of Denmark's delay in sending orders to the governor, or  
what

what is more probable, from his avidity in endeavouring to engross the whole booty, the English admiral, though he behaved with great bravery, failed of his purpose. The Danish governor fired upon him; and the Dutch, having had leisure to fortify themselves, made a very gallant resistance.

The king of Denmark, seemingly ashamed of his conduct, concluded with Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy, an offensive alliance against the States; and at the very same time, his resident at the Hague, by his orders, concluded an offensive alliance against England. To this last alliance he adhered, probably from jealousy of the increasing naval power of England; and he seized and confiscated all the English ships in his harbours. This was a very sensible check to the advantages which Charles had obtained over the Dutch; a great blow was given to the English commerce: the king of Denmark's naval force was also considerable, and threatened every moment a conjunction with the Hollanders. That prince stipulated to assist his allies with a fleet of thirty sail; and he received in return a yearly subsidy of 1,500,000 crowns, of which 300,000 were paid by France.

The king endeavoured to counterbalance these confederacies, by acquiring new friends and allies. He had dispatched Sir Richard Fanshaw into Spain, who met with a very cold reception. That monarchy was sunk into a great degree of weakness, and was menaced with an invasion from France; yet could not any motive prevail with Philip to enter into a cordial friendship with England. Charles's alliance with Portugal, the detention of Jamaica and Tangiers, the sale of Dunkirk to the French; all these offences sunk so deep into the mind of the Spanish monarch, that no motive of interest was sufficient to outweigh them. The bishop of Munster was the only ally that Charles could acquire.

The Dutch, encouraged by all these favourable circumstances, continued resolute to exert themselves

to



to the utmost in their own defence. De Ruyter, their great admiral, was arrived from his expedition to Guinea; their India fleet was come home in safety; their harbours were crowded with merchant ships; faction at home was appeased; the young prince of Orange had put himself under the tuition of the states of Holland, and of de Wit, their pensionary, who executed his trust with great honour and fidelity: and the animosity which the Hollanders entertained against the attack of the English so unprovoked, as they thought it, made them thirst for revenge, and hope for better success in their next enterprize. Such vigour was exerted in the common cause, that, in order the better to man the fleet, all merchant ships were prohibited to sail, and even the fisheries were totally suspended.

The English likewise continued in the same disposition, though another more grievous calamity had joined itself to that of war. The plague had broke out in London; and that with such violence as to cut off, in less than a year, near 100,000 inhabitants. The king was obliged to summon the parliament at Oxford.

After France had declared war, England was evidently over-matched in force. Yet she possessed this advantage by her situation, that she lay between the fleets of her enemies; and might be able, by speedy and well-concerted operations, to prevent their junction. But such was the unhappy conduct of her commanders, or such the want of intelligence in her ministers, that this circumstance turned rather to her prejudice. Lewis had given orders to the duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to sail from Toulon; and the French squadron, under his command, consisting of above forty sail, was now commonly supposed to be entering the channel. The Dutch fleet, to the number of seventy-six sail, was at sea, under the command of de Ruyter and Tromp, in order to join him. The Duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert commanded

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the English fleet, which exceeded not seventy-four sail. Albemarle, who, from his successes under the protectorship, had too much learned to despise the enemy, proposed to detach prince Rupert with twenty ships, in order to oppose the duke of Beaufort. Sir George Ayscue, well acquainted with the bravery and conduct of de Ruyter, protested against the temerity of this resolution: but Albemarle's authority prevailed. The remainder of the English set sail to give battle to the Dutch; who, seeing the enemy advance quickly upon them, cut their cables, and prepared for the combat. The battle, which ensued, is one of the most memorable which we read of in history; whether we consider its duration, or the desperate courage with which it was fought. Albemarle made here some atonement by his valour for the rashness of the attempt. No youth, animated by glory and ambitious hopes, could exert himself more than did this man; who was now in the decline of life, and who had reached the summit of honours. We cannot enter minutely into particulars. It will be sufficient to mention the chief events of each day's engagement.

In the first day, Sir William Berkeley, vice-admiral, leading the van, fell into the thickest of the enemy, was over-powered, and his ship taken. He himself was found dead in his cabin, all covered with blood. The English had the weather-gage of the enemy; but as the wind blew so high, that they could not use their lower tire, they received small advantage from this circumstance. The Dutch shot, however, fell chiefly on their sails and rigging; and few ships were sunk or much damaged. Chain-shot was at that time a new invention; which is commonly attributed to de Wit. Sir John Harman exerted himself extremely this day. The Dutch admiral, Evertz, was killed in engaging him. Darkness parted the combatants.

The second day, the wind was somewhat fallen, and the combat became more steady and more terrible. The English now found, that the most heroic valour cannot compensate the superiority of numbers, against an enemy who is well conducted, and who is not defective in courage. De Ruyter and Van Tromp, rivals in glory, and enemies from faction, exerted themselves in emulation of each other; and de Ruyter had the advantage of disengaging and saving his antagonist, who had been surrounded by the English, and was in the most imminent danger. Sixteen fresh ships joined the Dutch fleet during the action: and the English were so shattered, that their fighting ships were reduced to twenty-eight, and they found themselves obliged to retreat toward their own coast. The Dutch followed them, and were just on the point of renewing the combat; when a calm, which came a little before night, prevented the engagement.

Next morning, the English were necessitated to continue their retreat; and a proper disposition was made for that purpose. The shattered ships were ordered to stretch a-head; and sixteen of the most entire followed them in good order, and kept the enemy in awe. Albemarle himself closed the rear, and presented an undaunted countenance to his victorious foes. The earl of Ossory, son to Ormond, a gallant youth, who fought honour and danger in every action throughout Europe, was then on board the admiral. Albemarle confessed to him his intention rather to blow up his ship and perish gloriously, than yield to the enemy. Ossory applauded this desperate resolution.

About two o'clock, the Dutch had come up with their enemy, and were ready to renew the fight; when a new fleet was descried from the south, crowding all their sails to reach the scene of action. The Dutch flattered themselves that Beaufort was arrived, to cut off the retreat of the vanquished: the English hoped, that prince Rupert had come to turn the scale of ac-

tion. Albemarle, who had received intelligence of the prince's approach, bent his course toward him. Unhappily, Sir George Ayscue, in a ship of a hundred guns, the largest in the fleet, struck on the Galloper sands, and could receive no assistance from his friends, who were hastening to join the reinforcement. He could not even reap the consolation of perishing gloriously, and revenging his death on his enemies. They were preparing fireships to attack him, and he was obliged to strike. The English sailors, seeing the necessity, with the utmost indignation surrendered themselves prisoners.

Albemarle and prince Rupert were now determined to face the enemy; and next morning, the battle began afresh, with more equal force, and with equal valour. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a more close combat; which was continued with great violence, till parted by a mist. The English retired first into their harbours.

Though the English, by their obstinate courage, reaped the chief honour in this engagement, it is somewhat uncertain, who obtained the victory. The Hollanders took a few ships; and having some appearances of advantage, expressed their satisfaction by all the signs of triumph and rejoicing. But as the English fleet was repaired in a little time, and put to sea more formidable than ever, together with many of those ships which the Dutch had boasted to have burned or destroyed; all Europe saw, that those two brave nations were engaged in a contest, which was not likely to prove decisive.

It was the conjunction of the French alone, which could give the superiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this junction, de Ruyter, having repaired the fleet, posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. The English, under prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack. The numbers of each fleet amounted to about eighty sail; and the valour and experience of the commanders, as well



well as of the seamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obstinate. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the white squadron of the English, attacked the Dutch van, whom he entirely routed; and he killed the three admirals who commanded it. Van Tromp engaged Sir Jeremy Smith; and during the heat of action, he was separated from de Ruyter and the main body, whether by accident or design was never certainly known. De Ruyter, with great conduct and valour, maintained the combat against the main body of the English; and though over-powered by numbers, kept his station, till night ended the engagement. Next day, finding the Dutch fleet scattered and discouraged, his high spirit was obliged to submit to a retreat; which yet he conducted with such skill, as to render it equally honourable to himself as the greatest victory. Full of indignation however for yielding the superiority to the enemy, he frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I? among so many thousand bullets, there is not one to put an end to my miserable life!" One de Witte, his son-in-law, who stood near, exhorted him, since he sought death, to turn upon the English, and render his life a dear purchase to the victors. But de Ruyter esteemed it more worthy a brave man to persevere to the uttermost, and, as long as possible, to render service to his country. All that night and next day, the English pressed upon the rear of the Dutch; and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts of de Ruyter, that the latter saved themselves in their harbours.

The loss of the Hollanders in this action was not very considerable; but as violent animosities had broke out between the two admirals, who engaged all the officers on one side or other, the consternation which took place, was very great among the provinces. Tromp's commission was at last taken from him; but though several captains had misbehaved, they were so well protected by their friends in the magistracy

of the towns, that most of them escaped punishment: many were still continued in their commands.

The English now rode incontestible masters of the sea, and insulted the Dutch in their harbours. A detachment under Holmes was sent into the road of Vlie, and burned a hundred and forty merchantmen, two men of war, together with Bandaris, a large and rich village on the coast. The merchants, who lost by this enterprize, uniting themselves to the Orange faction, exclaimed against an administration, which, they pretended, had brought such disgrace and ruin on their country. None, but the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit, could have supported itself under such a complication of calamities.

The destroying the Dutch ships, and the burning the town of Bandaris, though done by Englishmen, was no English project. One captain Heemskerk, a Dutchman, who fled hither, for fear of his being called to an account for misbehaviour under Opdam, was the author of that dismal scene. After the return of the fleet, he was one day at court, and boasting, in the hearing of king Charles the second, of the bloody revenge he had taken upon his country: that monarch, with a stern countenance, bid him withdraw, and never presume to appear again in his presence. He sent him, however, a very considerable sum of money for the service; with which he retired to Venice. This instance of magnanimity, in that generous prince, has been long and highly applauded by the Dutch.

As soon as the fleet was ready, the command was bestowed on Michael de Ruyter; Tromp having at that time, in consequence of his dispute with de Ruyter, laid down his commission. This navy consisted of seventy-nine men of war and frigates, and twenty-seven fire-ships. The first design they had, was to join the French squadron, which Louis XIV. had promised to fit out for their assistance; in this they were most egregiously disappointed, and after a dangerous

gerous navigation, in which they were more than once chased by a superior English fleet, they were glad to return, though fired with indignation at such usage: which, it is said, wrought so powerfully on the mind of the gallant de Ruyter, as to throw him into a fit of sickness.

When the French thought the coast was become pretty clear, they ventured out with their fleet; but Sir Thomas Allen attacking them with his Squadron, boarded the *Ruby*, a fine ship of a thousand tons, and fifty-four guns, and carrying her in a short time, it so discouraged the French ministry, that they scarcely trusted their navy afterward out of sight of their own shores.

Charles began to be sensible, that all the ends for which the war had been undertaken, were likely to prove entirely ineffectual. The Dutch, even when alone, had defended themselves with great vigour, and were every day improving their military skill and preparations. Though their trade had suffered extremely, their extensive credit enabled them to levy prodigious sums; and while the seamen of England loudly complained for want of pay, the Dutch navy was regularly supplied with every thing requisite for its subsistence. As two powerful kings now supported them, every place, from the extremity of Norway to the coasts of Bayonne, was become hostile to the English. And Charles, neither fond of action, nor stimulated by any violent ambition, gladly sought for means of restoring tranquillity to his people; heartily disgusted with a war, which, being joined with the plague and fire of London, had proved so fruitless and destructive.

The first advances toward an accommodation were made by England. When the king sent for the body of Sir William Berkeley, he insinuated to the states his desire of peace on reasonable terms; and their answer corresponded in the same amicable intentions. Charles, however, to maintain the appearance of superiority,

still insisted, that the states should treat at London; and they agreed to make him this compliment so far as concerned themselves: but being engaged in an alliance with two crowned heads, they could not, they said, prevail with these to depart in that respect from their dignity. It was in the end agreed to treat at some other place; and Charles made choice of Breda.

Whatever projects might have been formed by Charles for secreting the money granted him by parliament, he had hitherto failed in his intention. The expences of such vast armaments had exhausted all the supplies; and even a great debt was contracted to the seamen. The king therefore was resolved to save, as far as possible, the last supply of 1,800,000 pounds; and to employ it for payment of his debts, as well those occasioned by the war, as those which either necessity, pleasure, or generosity, had formerly engaged him to contract. In this situation, Charles rashly remitted his preparations, and exposed England to one of the greatest affronts, which it has ever received. Two small squadrons alone were equipped; and during a war with such potent and martial enemies, every thing was left almost in the same situation as in times of the most profound tranquillity.

De Wit protracted the negotiations at Breda, and hastened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames under the command of de Ruyter, and threw the English into the utmost consternation. A chain had been drawn cross the river Medway; some fortifications had been added to Sheerness and Upnore castle: but all these preparations were unequal to the present necessity. Sheerness was soon taken; nor could it be saved by the valour of Sir Edward Spragge, who defended it. Having the advantage of a spring-tide, and an easterly wind, the Dutch pressed on, and broke the chain, though fortified by some ships, which had been there sunk by order of the duke of Albemarle. They burned the



three ships, which lay to guard the chain, the *Matthias*, the *Unity*, and the *Charles the Fifth*. After damaging several vessels, and possessing themselves of the hull of the *Royal Charles*, which the English had burned, they advanced with six men of war and five fire-ships, as far as *Upnore-castle*, where they burned the *Royal Oak*, the *Loyal London*, and the *Great James*. Captain *Douglas*, who commanded on board the *Royal Oak*, perished in the flames, though he had an easy opportunity of escaping. "Never was it known," he said, "that a *Douglas* had left his post without orders." The *Hollanders* fell down the *Medway* without receiving any considerable damage; and it was apprehended, that they might next tide sail up the *Thames*, and extend their hostilities even to the bridge of *London*. Nine ships were sunk at *Woolwich*, four at *Blackwall*: platforms were raised in many places, furnished with artillery; the train-bands were called out; and every place was in the utmost disorder. The *Dutch* sailed next to *Portsmouth*, where they made a fruitless attempt: they met with no better success at *Plymouth*: they insulted *Harwich*: they sailed again up the *Thames* as far as *Tilbury*, where they were repulsed by *Sir Edward Spragge*, who had with him five frigates, and seventeen fire-ships. This proved a very sharp action, at least between the fire-ships; of which the *Dutch* writers themselves confess, they spent eleven to our eight.

The next day the English attacked the Dutch in their turn; and, notwithstanding their superiority, forced them to retire, and to burn the only fire-ship they had left, to prevent her being taken. On the twenty-fifth they bore out of the river, with all the sail they could make, followed at a distance by *Sir Edward Spragge*, and his remaining fire-ships. On the twenty-sixth, in the mouth of the river, they were met by another English squadron from *Harwich*, consisting of five men of war, and fourteen fire-ships. They

They boldly attacked the Dutch, and grappled the vice-admiral of Zealand, and another large ship; but were not able to fire them, though they frightened a hundred of their men into the sea. The rear-admiral of Zealand was forced on shore, and so much damaged thereby, as to be obliged to return home.

The Dutch fleets, notwithstanding these disappointments, and though it was now very evident that no impression could be made, as had been expected, on the English coasts, continued still hovering about, even after they were informed that the peace was actually signed, and ratifications exchanged at Breda. Our writers are pretty much at a loss to account for this conduct; but a Dutch historian has told us very plainly, that Cornelius de Wit ordered all our ports, on that side, to be sounded, and took incredible pains to be informed of the strength of our maritime forts, and the provision made for protecting the mouths of our rivers: This shewed plainly, that though this was the first visit, it was not intended to be the last. The whole coast was in alarm; and had the French thought proper at this time to join the Dutch fleet, and to invade England, consequences the most fatal might justly have been apprehended. But Lewis had no intention to push the victory to such extremities. His interest required, that a ballance should be kept between the two maritime powers; not that an uncontrouled superiority should be given to either.

Great indignation prevailed amongst the English, to see an enemy, whom they regarded as inferior, whom they had expected totally to subdue, and over whom they had gained many honourable advantages; now of a sudden ride undisputed masters of the ocean, burn their ships in their very harbours, fill every place with confusion, and strike a terror into the capital itself. But tho' the cause of all these disasters could be ascribed neither to bad fortune, to the misconduct of admirals, nor the misbehaviour of seamen, but solely to the avarice, at least to the improvidence of  
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of the government; no dangerous symptoms of discontent appeared, and no attempt for an insurrection was made by any of those numerous sectaries, who had been so openly branded for their rebellious principles, and who upon that supposition had been treated with such severity.

But the signing the treaty at Breda, extricated the king from his present difficulties. The English ambassadors received orders to recede from those demands, which, however frivolous in themselves, could not now be relinquished, without acknowledging a superiority in the enemy. Polerone remained with the Dutch; satisfaction for the ships, *Bonaventure* and *Good Hope*, the pretended grounds of the quarrel, was no longer insisted on: *Acadie* was yielded to the French. The acquisition of *New York*, a settlement so important by its situation, was the chief advantage which the English reaped from a war, in which the national character of bravery shone out with great lustre; but where the misconduct of the government, especially in the conclusion, had been no less apparent.

The Dutch war being over, his majesty sent Sir Thomas Allen with a stout squadron into the Mediterranean, to repress the insults of the Algerines, who taking advantage of our differences, had disturbed both the English commerce and the Dutch. The latter sent admiral Van Ghendt with a squadron to secure their trade. These squadrons having engaged six corsairs, forced them to fly to their own coasts, where they were attacked by the English and the Dutch in their boats; and being abandoned by their respective crews, were all taken, and a great number of christian slaves of different nations released. The same year some of our frigates attacked seven of the enemies best ships near cape Gaeta. The admiral and vice-admiral of the Algerines carried fifty-six guns each; their rear-admiral, the biggest ship, in the squadron, carried sixty, and the least forty. Yet,  
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after a sharp engagement, the vice-admiral was sunk, and the rest forced to retire, most of them miserably disabled.

At last, Sir Edward Spragge was sent, in 1670, with a strong squadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruised for some days before their capital, without receiving any satisfactory answer to his demands. Upon this, he sailed from thence, with six frigates and three fire-ships, to make an attempt upon a considerable number of those corsairs, which lay in the haven of Bugia. By the way, he lost the company of two of his fire-ships; yet not discouraged by this accident, he persisted in his resolution. Being come before the place, he broke the boom at the entrance of the haven, forced the Algerines a-ground, and (notwithstanding the fire of the castle) burnt seven of their ships, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes: after which he destroyed another of their ships of war near Teddeller. These and other misfortunes caused such a tumult among the Algerines, that they murdered their dey, and chose another, by whom the peace was concluded to the satisfaction of the English, on the ninth of December in the same year: and as they were now sufficiently humbled, and saw plainly enough that the continuance of a war with England must end in their destruction, they kept this peace better than any they had made in former times.

We are now come to the third Dutch war (more frequently called the second, because it was so in respect to this reign) and to account for the beginning of it, will be no easy matter. The last treaty of peace was made by king Charles against his will, and on terms, to which force only made him consent. We need not wonder, therefore, that he still retained a dislike to the Dutch. Beside, there had been many other things done, sufficient to give distaste to any crowned head. For instance, their factory at Gambron



bron in Persia, after the peace, burnt the king in effigy ; having first dressed up the image in an old second-hand suit, to express the distress in which they knew him in his exile : for this, as the king thought it beneath him to demand, so the states-general looked upon themselves as above giving him, any satisfaction.

They likewise suffered some medals to be struck, in which their vanity was very apparent. Amongst others, because the triple alliance had given a check to the power of France, and their mediation had been accepted in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, they were pleased to arrogate to themselves the sole honour of giving peace to Europe, and of being arbiters among contending princes. Here, however, it must be owned that, in making war upon them, at this juncture, king Charles acted too much under the direction of French counsels. He had about him the worst set of ministers that ever cursed this, or perhaps any other nation. Men of different faiths, (if bad statesmen have any) and who agreed only in promoting those arbitrary acts, which, while they seemed to make their master great, in reality ruined his, and, if they could have been supported, would have exalted their power.

This infamous crew (for however decked with titles by their master, no Englishman will transmit their names to posterity with honour) were then called, the CABAL ; and these engaged the king to listen to the propositions of his most christian majesty, who, as he had before deceived him to serve the Dutch, so he now offered to deceive the Dutch, to gratify our king. That Charles might not hesitate at this step, Louis le Grand betrayed his creature de Wit, and discovered a project he had sent him for entering into an offensive alliance against England ; which, with other articles for his private advantage, most unhappily determined our monarch to take a step prejudicial to the protestant interest, repugnant to that of  
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the nation, and dangerous to the balance of power in Europe.

By virtue of secret engagements with France, this war was to end in the total destruction of the republic of Holland. Part of her dominions was to be added to those of France, and the rest to fall to the share of England. In order to have a pretence for breaking with them, the captain of the *Merlin-yacht*, with Sir William Temple's lady on board, had directions to pass through the Dutch fleet in the channel; and, on their not striking to his flag, was commanded to fire; which he did: yet this not being thought enough, he was blamed instead of being rewarded for it; and for not sufficiently asserting the king's right, he was, on his arrival in England, committed to the Tower. The pretence, however, thus secured, the French next undertook to lull the Dutch asleep, as they had done us, when our ships were burnt at Chatham; and this too they performed, by offering their mediation to accommodate that difference which they had procured, and upon which the execution of all their schemes depended. Yet de Wit trusted to this; till, as the dupe of France, and the scourge of his own nation, he fell a sacrifice to the fury of an enraged people. The war once resolved on, Sir Robert Holmes, who began the former by his reprisals in Guinea, had orders to open this too, though as he did that, without any previous declaration, by attacking the Smyrna fleet.

That fleet consisted of seventy sail, valued at a million and a half; and the hopes of seizing so rich a prey had been a great motive for engaging Charles in the present war, and he had considered that capture as a principal resource for supporting his military enterprizes. Holmes, with nine frigates and three yachts, had orders to go in search of this fleet; and he passed Spragge in the channel, who was returning home with a squadron from a cruize in the Mediterranean. Spragge informed him of the near approach  
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of the Hollanders; and had not Holmes, from a desire of engrossing all the honour and profit of the enterprize, kept the secret of his orders, the conjunction of these squadrons had rendered the success infallible. When Holmes approached the Dutch, he put on an amicable appearance, and invited the admiral, Van Nefs, who commanded the convoy, on board of him: one of his captains gave a like insidious invitation to the rear-admiral. But these officers were on their guard. They had received an intimation of the hostile intentions of the English, and had already put all the ships of war and merchantmen in an excellent posture of defence. Three times were they valiantly assailed by the English; and as often did they as valiantly defend themselves. In the third attack one of the Dutch ships of war was taken; and three or four of their most inconsiderable merchantmen fell into the enemies hands. The rest, fighting with great skill and courage, continued their course; and, favoured by a mist, got safe into their own harbours. This attempt is denominated perfidious and piratical by the Dutch writers, and even by many of the English. It merits at least the appellation of irregular; and as it had been attended with bad success, it brought double shame upon the contrivers. The English ministry endeavoured to cover the action, by pretending that it was a casual rencounter, arising from the obstinacy of the Dutch, who refused the honours of the flag: but the contrary was so well known, that even Holmes himself had not the assurance to persist in this asseveration.

War against the Dutch was declared on the 28th of March, 1672, in the cities of London and Westminster; and great pains were taken to impose upon the world a gross and groundless notion, that it was undertaken at the instance, or, at least, with the concurrence, of the people in general: whereas they knew their interest too well, not to discern how little this measure agreed with it. And therefore, though  
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the king had then a parliament much to his mind, yet he found it extremely difficult to obtain supplies; while the Dutch, in the midst of all their miseries, went on receiving sixty millions of their money (which is between five and six millions of ours) annually from their subjects. So great difference there is between taxes levied by authority, and money cheerfully paid to preserve the common-wealth. The French king's declaration of war contained more dignity, if undisguised violence and injustice could merit that appellation. He pretended only, that the behaviour of the Hollanders had been such, that it did not consist with his glory any longer to bear it.

In the mean time de Ruyter put to sea with a formidable fleet, consisting of ninety-one ships of war and forty-four fire-ships. Cornelius de Wit was on board, as deputy from the states. They sailed in quest of the English, consisting of sixty-five ships, who were under the command of the duke of York, and who had already joined the French squadron of thirty-six sail, under mareschal d'Etrées. The combined fleets lay at Solebay in a very negligent posture; and Sandwich, being an experienced officer, had given the duke warning of the danger; but received, it is said, such an answer as intimated, that there was more of caution than of courage in his apprehensions. Upon the appearance of the enemy, every one ran to his post with precipitation; and many ships were obliged to cut their cables, in order to be in readiness. Sandwich commanded the van; and though determined to conquer or perish, he so tempered his courage with prudence, that the whole fleet was visibly indebted to him for its safety. He hastened out of the bay, where it had been easy for de Ruyter with his fire-ships to have destroyed the combined fleets, which were crowded together; and by this wise measure he gave time to the duke of York, who commanded the main body, and to mareschal d'Etrées, admiral of the rear, to disengage themselves.



selves. He himself meanwhile was engaged in close fight with the Hollanders; and by presenting himself to every danger, had drawn upon him all the bravest of the enemy. He killed Van Ghendt, the Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship: he sunk another ship, which ventured to lay him aboard: he sunk three fire-ships, which endeavoured to grapple with him: and though his vessel was torne in pieces with shot, and of a thousand men she contained, near six hundred lay dead upon the deck; he continued still to thunder with all his artillery in the midst of the enemy. But another fire-ship, more fortunate than the preceding, having laid hold of his vessel, her destruction was now inevitable. Warned by Sir Edward Haddock, his captain, he refused to make his escape; and bravely embraced death as a shelter from that ignominy, which a rash expression of the duke, he thought, had thrown upon him.

During this fierce engagement with Sandwich, de Ruyter remained not inactive. He attacked the duke of York, and fought him with such fury for above two hours, that of two and thirty actions, in which he had been engaged, he declared this combat to be the most obstinately disputed. The duke's ship was so shattered, that he was obliged to leave her, and remove his flag to another. His squadron was overpowered with numbers, till Sir Joseph Jordan, who had succeeded to Sandwich's command, came to his assistance; and the fight, being more equally balanced, was continued till night, when the Dutch retired, and were not followed by the English. The loss sustained by the fleets of the two maritime powers was nearly equal, if it did not rather fall more heavy on the English. The French suffered very little, because they had scarce been engaged in the action; and as this backwardness is not their national character, it was concluded, that they had received orders to spare their ships, while the Dutch and English should weaken themselves by their mutual animosity.

Almost all the other actions during the present war tended to confirm this suspicion.

It brought great honour to the Dutch to have fought with some advantage the combined fleets of two such powerful nations; but nothing less than a compleat victory could serve the purpose of de Wit, or save his country from those calamities, which from every quarter threatened to overwhelm her. Lewis invaded the Dutch territories by land, and took their towns as fast as he appeared before them. A general astonishment seized the Hollanders, from the combination of such powerful princes against the republic; and no where was resistance made, suitable to the antient glory or present greatness of the state. Governors without experience commanded troops without discipline; and despair had universally extinguished that sense of honour, by which alone, men in such dangerous extremities can be animated to a valorous defence. Every hour brought to the states news of the rapid progress of the French, and of the cowardly defence of their own garrisons.

The Prince of Orange, with his small and discouraged army, retired into the province of Holland; where he expected, from the natural strength of the country, since all human art and courage failed, to be able to make some resistance. Three provinces were already in the hands of the French; Guelderland, Overijssel, and Utrecht; Groningen was threatened; Friezland lay exposed: The only difficulty lay in Holland and Zealand; and the monarch deliberated concerning the proper measures for reducing them.

The town of Amsterdam alone seemed to retain some courage; and by forming a regular plan of defence, endeavoured to infuse spirit into the other cities: and the sluices being opened, the neighbouring country, without regard to the great damage sustained, was laid under water. All the province followed this example; and scrupled not, in this  
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extremity, to restore to the sea those fertile fields, which with infinite art and expence had been won from it.

The states of Holland met to consider, whether any means were left to save the remains of their lately flourishing, and now distressed commonwealth. The nobles gave their vote, that, provided their religion, liberty, and sovereignty could be saved, every thing else should without scruple be sacrificed to the conqueror: eleven towns concurred in the same sentiments. Amsterdam singly declared against all treaty with insolent and triumphant enemies: but notwithstanding that opposition, they resolved once more to try the force of intreaties; with which view they sent four deputies to England, and as many to the French king. The business of the former, was to shew the danger of the protestant religion, the apparent and near approaching ruin of the balance of Europe, and the dismal consequences which must follow, even to England, from the further prosecution of the war. As to the latter, they were charged to offer any satisfaction to his most christian majesty, that he should require.

The terms insisted on by Lewis were such as totally destroyed, not only the existence, but the very appearance, of independence in the states: and the ambassadors, who came to London, met with still worse reception. No minister was allowed to treat with them; and they were retained in a kind of confinement. But notwithstanding this rigorous conduct of the court, the presence of the Dutch deputies excited the sentiments of tender compassion, and even indignation among the people in general, but especially among those who could foresee the aim and result of those dangerous councils. The two most powerful monarchs, they said, in Europe, the one by land, the other by sea, have, contrary to the faith of solemn treaties, combined to exterminate an illustrious

trious republic: what a dismal prospect does their success afford to the neighbours of the one, and to the subjects of the other? Charles had formed the triple league, in order to restrain the exorbitant power of France: a sure proof, that he does not now err from ignorance.

But though the fear of giving offence to his confederate had engaged Charles to treat the Dutch ambassadors with such rigour, he was not altogether without uneasiness, on account of the rapid and unexpected progress of the French arms. Were Holland entirely conquered, its whole commerce and naval force, he saw, must become an accession to France; the Spanish Low Countries must soon follow; and Lewis, now independent of his ally, would no longer think it his interest to support him against his discontented subjects. Charles, though he never stretched his attention to very distant consequences, could not but foresee these obvious events; and though incapable of envy or jealousy, he was touched with anxiety, when he found every thing yield to the French arms, while such vigorous resistance was made to his own. He soon dismissed the Dutch ambassadors, lest they should cabal among his subjects, who bore them great favour: but he sent over Buckingham and Arlington, and soon after lord Halifax, to negotiate anew with the French king, in the present prosperous situation of that monarch's affairs.

These ministers passed through Holland; and as they were supposed to bring peace to the distressed republic, they were received every where with the loudest acclamations. "God bless the king of England! God bless the prince of Orange! Confusion to the States!" This was every where the cry of the populace. The ambassadors had several conferences with the States and the prince of Orange; but made no reasonable advances toward an accommodation. They went to Utrecht, where they renewed the league



league with Lewis; and agreed, that neither of the kings should ever make peace with Holland, but by common consent.

The terms proposed by Lewis bereaved the republic of all security against any land invasion from France: those demanded by Charles exposed them equally to an invasion by sea from England: and when both were joined, they appeared absolutely intolerable; and reduced the Hollanders, who saw no means of defence, to the utmost despair. What extremely augmented their distress, were the violent factions with which they continued to be every where agitated. Their rage at last broke all bounds, and bore every thing before it. They rose in an insurrection at Dort; and this proved a signal of general revolt throughout all the provinces. The two brothers of de Wit were assassinated, and the prince of Orange invested with the stadtholdership.

In the mean time the French and English fleets sailed again for the Dutch coasts, with a design to make a descent on Zealand, the only province into which the French had not carried their arms by land. Here they found the Dutch fleet; but not thinking proper to attack them among the sands, they deferred the execution of their design; and blocked up the Maese and Texel; which de Ruyter (having strict orders from the States not to hazard a battle) saw with concern, yet wanted power to prevent. The duke of York was resolved to debark on the isle of Texel, the body of troops on board his fleet. The occasion was favourable in all respects; the French and the bishop of Munster were in the heart of the Dutch territories, so that no great force could be drawn together to resist them on shore.

It was upon the 3d of July this resolution was taken; and it was intended, that their forces should have landed the next flood. But providence interposed in favour of a free people, and saved them from a yoke, which seemed already to press upon

their necks. The ebb, instead of six, continued twelve hours, which defeated the intended descent for that time; and the storm, that rose the night following, forced the fleet out to sea, where they struggled for some time with very foul weather, and, the opportunity being quite lost, returned, without performing any thing of consequence, to the English shore. The Dutch clergy magnified this accident into a miracle; and, though some of our writers have thereupon arraigned them of superstition, yet their excess of piety was, in this respect, very pardonable; especially, if we consider, there could not be a higher stroke of policy, at that time, than to persuade a nation, struggling against superior enemies, that they were particularly favoured by heaven.

After this disappointment, there was no other action thought of at sea for this year, except the sending Sir Edward Spragge, with a squadron, to disturb the Dutch herring-fishery; which he performed with a degree of moderation that became so great a man: contenting himself with taking one of their vessels, when he saw that was sufficient to disperse the rest. But while the war seemed to slumber in Europe, it raged sufficiently in the West and East Indies. All this time commerce in general suffered exceedingly on both sides: noble plantations were ruined; and the French, who, before this war, had very little skill in navigation, and scarcely at all understood the art of fighting at sea, as their own writers confess, improved wonderfully in both, at the joint expence of Britain and Holland. Thus their self-interested political end was plainly answered, while the maritime powers were fighting with, and weakening each other; and this too as much against their inclinations, as their interests.

The money, granted by parliament, sufficed to equip a fleet, 1673, of which prince Rupert was declared admiral: for the duke was set aside by the test. Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Ossory  
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commanded under the prince. A French squadron joined them, commanded by d'Etrées. The combined fleets set sail toward the coast of Holland, and found the enemy, lying at anchor, within the sands of Schonvelt. There is a natural confusion attending sea-fights, even beyond other military transactions; derived from the precarious operations of winds and tides, as well as from the smoke and darkness, in which every thing is there involved. No wonder, therefore, that relations of these battles are apt to contain uncertainties and contradictions; especially when composed by writers of the hostile nations, who take pleasure in exalting their own advantages, and suppressing those of the enemy. All we can say with certainty of this battle, is, that both sides boasted of the victory; and we may thence infer, that the action was not decisive. The Dutch, being near home, retired into their own harbours. In a week, they were refitted, and presented themselves again to the combined fleets. A new action ensued, not more decisive than the foregoing. It was not fought with great obstinacy on either side; but whether the Dutch or the allies first retired, seems to be a matter of uncertainty. The loss in the former of these actions fell chiefly on the French, whom the English, dissident of their intentions, took care to place under their own squadrons; and they thereby exposed them to all the fire of the enemy. There seems not to have been a ship lost on either side in the second engagement.

It was sufficient glory to de Ruyter, that with a fleet much inferior to the combined squadrons of France and England, he could fight without any notable disadvantage; and it was sufficient victory, that he could defeat the project of another descent in Zealand; which, had it taken place, had endangered, in the present circumstances, the total overthrow of the Dutch commonwealth. Prince Rupert also was suspected not to favour the king's project of

subduing Holland, or enlarging his authority at home; and from these motives, he was thought not to have pressed so hard on the enemy, as his well-known valour gave reason to expect. It is indeed remarkable, that, during this war, though the English with their allies much over-matched the Hollanders, they were not able to gain any advantage over them; while in the former war, though often overborne by numbers, they still exerted themselves with the most heroic courage, and always acquired great renown, sometimes even signal victories. But they were disgusted with the present measures, which they esteemed pernicious to their country; they were not satisfied in the justice of the quarrel; and they entertained a perpetual jealousy of their confederates, whom, had they been permitted, they would with much more pleasure have destroyed than even the enemies themselves.

If prince Rupert was not favourable to the designs of the court, he enjoyed as little favour from the court, at least from the duke, who, though he could no longer command the fleet, still possessed the chief authority in the admiralty. The prince complained of a total want of every thing, powder, shot, provisions, beer, and even water; and he went into harbour, that he might refit the fleet, and supply its numerous necessities. After some weeks he was refitted; and he again put to sea. The hostile fleets met at the mouth of the Texel, and fought the last battle, which, during a course of so many years, these neighbouring maritime powers have disputed with each other. De Ruyter, and under him Tromp, commanded the Dutch in this action, as in the two former: for the prince of Orange had reconciled these two gallant rivals; and they retained nothing of their former animosity, except that emulation, which made them exert themselves with more distinguishing bravery against the enemies of their country. Brankert was opposed to d'Etrées, de Ruyter to prince Rupert,



Rupert, Tromp to Spragge. It is remarkable, that in all actions these brave admirals last mentioned had still selected each other, as the only antagonists worthy each others valour; and no decisive advantage had as yet been gained by either of them. They fought in this battle, as if there were no mean between death and victory.

D'Etrées and all the French squadron, except rear-admiral Martel, kept at a distance; and Brankert, instead of pressing on them, bore down to the assistance of de Ruyter, who was engaged in furious combat with prince Rupert. On no occasion did the prince acquire more deserved honour: his conduct, as well as valour, shone out with signal lustre. Having disengaged his squadron from the numerous enemies, with which he was every where surrounded, and having joined Sir John Chichely, his rear-admiral, who had been separated from him, he made haste to the relief of Spragge, who was very hard pressed by Tromp's squadron. The Royal Prince, in which Spragge first engaged, was so disabled, that he was obliged to hoist his flag on board the *St. George*; while Tromp was, for a like reason, obliged to quit his ship, the *Golden Lion*, and to go on board the *Comet*. The fight was renewed with the utmost fury by these valorous rivals, and by the rear-admirals, their seconds. Offory, rear-admiral to Spragge, was preparing to board Tromp, when he saw the *St. George* terribly torn, and in a manner disabled. Spragge was leaving her, in order to hoist his flag on board a third ship, and return to the charge; when a shot, which had passed through the *St. George*, took his boat, and sunk her. The admiral was drowned, to the great regret of Tromp himself, who bestowed on his valour the deserved praises.

Prince Rupert found affairs in this dangerous situation, and saw most of the ships in Spragge's squadron disabled from fight. The engagement was renewed,

newed, and became very close and bloody. The prince threw the enemy into great disorder: to increase it, he sent among them two fire-ships; and at the same time made a signal to the French to bear down, which if they had done, a total victory must have ensued. But the prince, when he saw that they neglected his signal, and observed that most of his ships were in no condition to keep the sea long, wisely provided for their safety, by making easy sail toward the English coast. The victory in this battle was as doubtful, as in all the actions fought during the present war.

The turn, which the affairs of the Hollanders took by land, was more favourable. The prince of Orange, by his conduct and success, obliged Lewis to recal his forces, and to abandon all his conquests, with greater rapidity than he had at first made them.

The king plainly saw, that he could expect no supply from the commons for carrying on a war, which was so odious to them. He resolved therefore to make a separate peace with the Dutch, on the terms which they had proposed through the canal of the Spanish ambassador. With a cordiality, which, in the present disposition on both sides, was probably but affected, but which was obliging, he asked advice of parliament. The parliament unanimously concurred, both in thanks for this gracious concession, and in their advice for peace. Peace was accordingly concluded at London, February 9th, 1674. The honour of the flag was yielded by the Dutch in the most extensive terms: a regulation of trade was agreed to: all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war: the English planters in Surinam were allowed to remove at pleasure: and the States agreed to pay to the king the sum of eight hundred thousand patacoons, near three hundred thousand pounds. Thus ended the last of our Dutch wars, which, though made against the interest and will of the people, terminated highly to  
their

their advantage; whereas the former war, though it was begun at the instance of the nation, ended but indifferently: so little correspondence there is between the grounds and issues of things.

The corsairs of Tripoli having for some time committed great outrages on the English trade, Sir John Narborough was sent, in the latter end of the year 1675, to reduce them to reason. The 14th of January following, Sir John came before the place, and having blocked up the port in the night, so that no ship could go in, or come out, he manned all his boats, and sent them under the command of lieutenant Shovel (afterward Sir Cloudesly, the famous admiral) into the harbour; where he seized the guard-ship, and afterward burnt the vessels, which lay at that time in the harbour: after which, he safely returned to the fleet without the loss of a single man. This extraordinary action struck the Tripolines with amazement, and made them instantly sue for peace; which, however, did not immediately take place, because they absolutely refused to make good the losses sustained by the English. Sir John, thereupon, cannonaded the town; and, finding that ineffectual, landed a body of men about twenty leagues from thence, and burnt a vast magazine of timber, which was to have served for the building of ships. When all this failed of reducing these people, Sir John sailed to Malta; and, after remaining there for some time, returned suddenly upon the enemy, and distressed them so much, that they were glad to submit to a peace, on the terms prescribed.

However, soon after the conclusion of this treaty, some of their corsairs, returning into port, not only expressed a great dislike thereto, but actually deposed the dey for making it; and, without any regard to it, began to take all English ships, as before. Sir John remaining still in the Mediterranean, and having immediate notice of what passed, suddenly appeared with eight frigates before Tripoli, and began with

with such violence to batter the place, that the inhabitants were glad once more to renew the peace, and deliver up the authors of the late disturbance to condign punishment.

In 1679, we had some differences with the Algerines; upon which Sir John Narborough was sent with a squadron to demand satisfaction: this he procured, as it must always be procured, by dint of force. This peace, however, did not last long; but commodore Herbert, afterward so well known to the world by the title of earl of Torrington, went thither with a few ships, and compelled them to make satisfaction for the breach of it, and to give the strongest assurances of their future conduct. That expedition, which was performed in 1682, proved the last in this reign.

There is yet one transaction more which calls for our notice, and that is, the demolition of the strong and expensive fortress of Tangier. In the space of twenty years it cost the nation an immense sum of money; and yet many doubted, all things considered, whether, after all, it was of any real use to us, or not. When we first had it, the harbour was very dangerous; to remedy which, there was a fine mole run out at a vast charge. Several societies, or copartnerships, which undertook to perfect this work, raised great sums for that purpose; and, after wasting them, miscarried. At last, however, all difficulties were, in a manner, overcome; and this work finished in such a manner, that it might be said to vie with those of the Romans. But the house of commons, in 1680, having expressed a dislike to the management of the garrison kept there, which they suspected to be no better than a nursery for a popish army; and discovering, withal, no thoughts of providing for it any longer; the king began, likewise, to entertain thoughts of quitting, destroying, and bringing home his forces from thence. In 1683, the lord Dartmouth was constituted captain-general of



his majesty's forces in Africa, and governor of Tangier, and sent, as admiral of an English fleet, to demolish the works, blow up the mole, and bring home the garrison from thence; all which he very effectually performed: so that the harbour is, at this time, entirely spoiled; and, though now in the hands of the Moors, is a very inconsiderable place. One circumstance, attending its demolition, deserves to be remarked, because it shews the temper and spirit of the king. He directed a considerable number of new-coined crown-pieces to be buried in the ruins, that if (through the vicissitudes of fortune, to which all sublunary things are liable) this city should ever be restored, there might remain some memorial of its having had once the honour of depending on the crown of Britain. Thus, through disputes between the king and parliament, whatever party-suspensions might suggest, the British nation lost a place and port of great importance.

It is on all hands confessed, that never any English, perhaps it might, without distinction of countries, be said, any prince, understood maritime concerns so well as Charles the second. He piqued himself very much on making, as occasion offered, minute enquiries into whatever regarded naval affairs: he understood ship-building perfectly, and made draughts of vessels with his own hands: he was no stranger to the conveniencies and inconveniencies of every port in his dominions. But he was so expensive in his pleasures, the jealousies raised against him were so strong, he was so much in the hands of favourites and mistresses, he was so frequently and so egregiously betrayed by both, and his finances, through his whole reign, were so cramped, and in such disorder; that he was not able to accomplish any great designs.

How intent he was, for the first ten years of his reign, in promoting whatever had a tendency to increase the naval power of his kingdom, appears, from all the candid histories of those times, and from the collections

collections of orders, and other public papers relating to the direction of the navy, while the duke of York was admiral, published of late years, and in every body's hands. The lord keeper Bridgman affirmed, that, from 1660 to 1670, the charge of the navy had never amounted to less than half a million a year. But after the second Dutch war, the king grew more saving in this article; and yet, in 1678, when the nation in general expected a war with France, his navy was in excellent order. The judicious Mr. Pepys, secretary to the admiralty, has left us a particular account of its state in the month of August that year; which as it is very short, it may not be amiss to insert.

#### ABSTRACT of the FLEET.

	Rates.	Number.	Men.
	1	5	3135
	2	4	1555
	3	16	5010
	4	33	6460
	5	12	1400
	6	7	423
Fire-ships		6	340
	Total	83	18323

Of these, seventy-six were in sea-pay, the store-houses and magazines in compleat order; and, which is still more to the purpose, thirty capital ships were then actually on the stocks.

The East India company were exceedingly favoured and protected, especially in the beginning of this reign: the African company was in the zenith of its glory, and brought in vast profits to the proprietors, and the nation. Many of our plantations were settled by his majesty's favour; such as Pensilvania, Carolina,

lina, &c. Others were restored to this nation by his arms; such as New York and the Jerseys: and all had such encouragement, that they made quite another figure than in former times, as we may guess from what a modern writer (no way partial to this prince) says of Barbadoes; that, during his reign, it maintained four hundred sail of ships, produced two hundred thousand pounds a year clear profit to this nation, and maintained one hundred thousand people there and here.

These are high calculations: Sir William Petty calculated our exports at ten millions per annum. This agrees very well with the state of our customs, which fell then little short of a million; though in 1660, they were farmed out for four hundred thousand pounds, as they were once let by queen Elizabeth at thirty-six thousand. Dr. Davenant, an excellent judge in these matters, having duly weighed these calculations, and compared them with all the lights he had received from long experience; pronounces the balance of trade to have been in our favour, in this reign, two millions a year. The bounds prescribed to this work, will not allow more to be said on this subject.

Few princes have struggled with greater difficulties, before they ascended their thrones, than king James II. and few ever sustained a greater load of trouble afterward. He succeeded his brother the 6th of February, 1685, with the general acclamations of his subjects, who expected great things from a king who came to the throne with such advantages. He was then turned of fifty-one, had good natural parts, improved and strengthened both by education and experience; inclined to, and very diligent in business; an able economist: in fine, a prince, who, if he had conducted public affairs with the same ease and dexterity which he shewed in the management of his private concerns, his reign might have been as happy

happy and glorious, as it proved troublesome and unfortunate.

It was his great foible, that he was constantly influenced by foreign councils, which is what the English nation cannot endure; and, indeed, it is impossible they should: for, as our constitution differs from the constitution of all the states upon the continent, it is simply impracticable to govern us well, by any other system of politics than our own. King James knew this well enough; and yet his fondness for the popish religion, threw him into the arms of France, and engaged him, while a subject, to act as a tool; when a king, to rule as a viceroy to Lewis XIV. and this at a juncture, when, if he had been of the religion of his fathers, and had complied with the desires of his people, he might have given law to that haughty monarch, and been esteemed the deliverer of Europe.

Nevertheless, wrong as his conduct was, in almost every other particular, the care he took of naval affairs deserves to be mentioned. He had long exercised the office of lord high-admiral, in the reign of his brother, and understood it thoroughly: he knew, too, the disorders which had crept into the whole œconomy of the fleet, in the six years immediately preceding his accession; and was well acquainted, beside, with the difficulties the late king had found, in applying remedies to these mischiefs.

As soon, therefore, as he was seated on the throne, he began to consider how a total reformation might be wrought, and the affairs of the navy be not only set right for the present, but also be put into such a settled course, as that they might not suddenly go wrong again. With this view, he consulted Mr. Pepys, and some other persons, on whose abilities and integrity he could depend; and having learned from them what was necessary to be done to bring about the ends at which he aimed, he first assigned a  
stated



stated fund of four hundred thousand pounds a year, payable quarterly out of the treasury, for the service of the navy; and then issued a special commission for settling all things relating to it, and for putting the management thereof into such a method, as might need few or no alterations in succeeding times.

This was the wisest act of his whole reign, and answered very effectually all that could be expected from it; and was grounded, as to form, on a commission which had issued, for the same purpose, in the reign of his grandfather. This commission was dated the 17th of April, 1686, and by it the commissioners were directed to enquire into, and remedy all the disorders that were then in the navy, to restore it, in every respect, to good order, and from time to time to report the proceedings to his majesty and the privy council.

The commissioners vested with these powers lost no time, but fell immediately on a diligent inspection into the state of the navy, enquired strictly into the causes of past miscarriages, with respect rather to things than men; and taking such measures for the immediate remedy of the mischiefs they discovered, that the old ships were perfectly repaired; the new ones altered and mended; the yards properly supplied with the ablest workmen; all the storehouses filled with whatever was requisite, bought at the best hand, and, in all respects, the best in their kind: the estimates brought into proper order, and the whole oeconomy of the navy reduced into so clear a method, that it was impossible any officer could mistake in his duty, the public service suffer in any of its various branches, or the king run any hazard of being cheated.

While this commission subsisted, the king issued new instructions to the officers commanding his ships of war; these are dated the 15th of July, 1686, and are extremely well calculated for promoting the public service, securing discipline, and preserving pro-

per memorials of every man's particular merit, by obliging all captains, and superior officers, to deposit a perfect copy of their journals with the secretary of the admiralty. As many things, in these regulations, might seem to bear hard upon commanders, and to deprive them of those emoluments which their predecessors had long enjoyed; his majesty was pleased to grant them very considerable favours: such as a settled allowance for their tables, several advantages in respect to prizes, &c. and, in the close, promised to reward every instance of courage, care, or diligence, in any of his officers, upon proper attestations deposited with the secretary of the admiralty.

We need not wonder, that, in consequence of so unwearied an attention, the British fleet was in very good order when king James had the first notice of the prince of Orange's intended invasion; but we may be justly surprised at the strange management of maritime affairs from that time. A squadron of ships was, indeed, immediately ordered to sea, under the command of Sir Roger Strickland, then rear-admiral of England; who was, perhaps, the most improper man in the world to command them, on account of his being obnoxious to the seamen, by the readiness he had shewn in bringing priests on board the fleet. His squadron was ordered to the Downs very indifferently manned; and when he complained of it, and desired to have soldiers at least sent on board, even this was very slowly complied with.

When the danger appeared more clearly, this fleet was directed to retire to the Buoy in the Nore; and lord Dartmouth was ordered to sea, with such a reinforcement as made the whole fleet, under his command, consist of forty men of war: of which, thirty-eight were of the line of battle, and eighteen fire-ships. A council of war was called, wherein Sir William Jennings, who commanded a third rate, proposed to put to sea, and stand over to the Dutch coasts, as the shortest and surest way to prevent an  
inva-

invasion. This proposition, however, was rejected, by a great majority; and so it was resolved to continue there. The true ground of this, as Mr. secretary Burchet fairly tells us, was, the secret resolution of the greatest part of the captains to hinder the admiral, in case he had come up with the Dutch fleet, from doing them much damage: and thus it appears, how ineffectual fleets and armies are, when princes have lost the confidence of their subjects.

In the mean time, the prince of Orange had about his person abundance of English noblemen and gentlemen. The fleet that was to carry these, consisted of about fifty sail, most of them third or fourth rates, and the transports were about five hundred. These, with twenty-five fire-ships, made up the whole navy: the land forces embarked, were four thousand horse and dragoons, and ten thousand foot. It was very remarkable, that though all the captains of these vessels were Dutch, yet the chief command was given to admiral Herbert, who very lately commanded the English fleet, and this with a view, either to engage ships to come over, or, at least, to encourage the seamen to desert.

In order to do this more effectually, Herbert first addressed a letter to his countrymen in the sea-service, and then stood with the Dutch fleet over to the Downs, in order to look at the English squadron, and try what effects his exhortation had produced. At that time his success did not promise much; and, after a fortnight's cruising, he returned to the Dutch coasts, with a better opinion of the king's fleet, and a worse of his own, than when he sailed. But, for all this, his epistle did almost as much service as the force he commanded: for though the desertion was inconsiderable; yet, by degrees, the sailors lost their spirits, and their officers began to cabal.

On the first of November the fleet sailed. The prince intended to have gone northward, and to have landed his forces in the mouth of the Humber; but

a strong east wind rendered this impracticable, and seemed to direct them to a better course. His highness then sailed westward, the same wind which brought him to the English coast keeping in the king's ships. They passed the English navy, during a fog, undiscerned, except a few transports which sailed in sight, while the English fleet rode with their yards and top-masts down, and could not, by reason of the extraordinary violence of the wind, purchase their anchors. The prince and his army landed safely in Torbay, on the fifth of November, the anniversary of the gun-powder plot.

The conduct of the king, after the arrival of the Dutch fleet, was unaccountable: since, if we except the care he took in sending away his family, it does not appear that he issued any orders relating to the fleet, which will seem still the more extraordinary, if we consider, that his admiral was not only a man of quality, and one on whose fidelity he could absolutely depend; but also an experienced officer, and a man extremely beloved by the sailors. In all probability, he was deterred from taking any measures, of this sort, by what happened at the docks, where the workmen employed in the service of the royal navy, rose on a sudden, and, without any other arms than the tools belonging to their trades, drove out the regiment of regular troops quartered at Rochester, and Chatham, and declared for the protestant religion, and the prince of Orange. To say the truth, the sea-faring people declared unanimously against his measures, and did all in their power to prevent the most obnoxious of his ministers, such as chancellor Jefferies, and father Petre, from making their escape: which can be attributed to nothing but the just sense they had of the iniquitous measures these people had pursued: for, as to themselves, they had no particular grievances.

The mistakes committed on this side, were heightened, in their appearance, by the great caution and  
wise



wife management on the other, as well as by the foreseen and unforeseen consequences of the whole transaction. The embarkation was made with ease; the passage better regulated by the winds, than it could have been by their prudence; the descent in the fittest place in England for landing of horse; so that it was performed without difficulty, as well as without danger.

In Holland, they triumphed on the exact execution of the plan laid down by the states; and the most eminent news-writer they then had, made this observation on the success of the prince's enterprize, in his reflections on the history of Europe, for November, 1688. "The expence bestowed on the fleet and army set out from Holland, is a sign they are morally assured of the success of the expedition, which, I am apt to think, has been a long time in agitation, though it was carried with that prudence and secrecy, as not to be discovered, till it could be no longer concealed." When skill, industry, and zeal, were visibly on the part of the prince; and weakness, irresolution, and diffidence apparent in all the king's measures; it was impossible things should continue long in dispute, or that his highness, who knew so well how to use all the advantages that were in his hands, should not prevail.

When lord Dartmouth saw the disposition of his officers, and how little it was in his power to serve his master; he wisely yielded to necessity: and, sailing once again into the Downs, held a council of war, in which it was resolved, first, to dismiss from their commands, all such officers as were known to be papists, or suspected so to be; and then to send up an address to his highness, setting forth their steady affection to the protestant religion, and their sincere concern for the safety, freedom, and honour of their country. Not long after this, the ships were dispersed, some to the dock-yards, to be dismantled and laid up, others to be cleaned and repaired; and such

as were in the best condition for the sea, were appointed for necessary services.

These were all the exploits performed by the English navy, during the reign of a prince, who, while a subject, had served and acquired a reputation at sea; who understood maritime affairs perfectly well, and who attended to them with extraordinary diligence. But it ought to be remembered, that though this fleet was useless to him, yet it was of the highest advantage to the nation. If he had been less careful in this respect; if he had left the navy in a low condition; nay, if he had left it as he found it at his brother's decease, it would have been impossible for us to have withstood the naval power of France, which had been for several years growing: and about the time of the revolution, or a little before, it had attained to its greatest height.

An abstract of the list of the royal navy of England, upon the 18th of December, 1688, with the force of the whole.

Ships and vessels.		Force.	
Rates.	Number.	Men.	Guns.
1	9	6705	878
2	11	7010	974
3	39	16545	2640
4	41	9480	1908
5	2	260	60
6	6	420	90
Bombers,	3	120	34
Fire-ships,	26	905	218
Hoys,	6	22	00
Hulks,	8	50	00
Ketches,	3	115	24
Smacks,	5	18	00
Yachts,	14	353	104
Total.		42003	6930

No

No sooner was the crown placed on the head of the prince of Orange, than he began to feel the weight of it, and found himself obliged to embark in a war, as soon as he was seated on the throne. A war in which all Europe was engaged; for the ambitious designs of Lewis XIV. were now so evident, that even the powers, least inclined to action, saw themselves obliged to provide for their own safety, by entering into a confederacy for effectually opposing the encroachments of that aspiring prince.

The French king, on the other hand, instead of discovering any dread of this formidable alliance, began first by falling upon the empire, and declaring war against Spain, at the same time that he provided for his ally, king James, whom he sent over into Ireland, with a considerable force, escorted by a fleet of thirty sail of men of war, and seven frigates. On the 12th of March, 1688-9, that monarch landed at Kingsale, from whence he went to Cork.

Admiral Herbert, who commanded the English fleet, in the beginning of the month of April, 1689, sailed for Cork, with a squadron which consisted of no more than twelve ships of war, one fire-ship, two yachts, and two smacks. Here he received information, that king James had landed at Kingsale, about two months before. He then thought it proper to attempt the cutting off the convoy that had attended him from France: with this view he sailed for Brest, and cruised off that port for some time; but hearing nothing of the French men of war from the advice-boats he daily received, and having increased his force to nineteen sail, he again steered for the Irish coast, and toward the latter end of April, appeared off Kingsale.

On the 29th of that month, he discovered a fleet of forty-four sail, which he judged were going into Kingsale, and therefore did his utmost to prevent it. The French shipped the stores and money they had brought for James's army, on board six fire-ships,

and some merchantmen they had with them, to land at a place in the bay, seven leagues distant, while they engaged the English Squadron, that at all events they might be safe.

Authors vary not a little as to the strength of both fleets; but bishop Kennet reckons the English ships twenty-two, wherein he agrees with the French relations. The enemy's fleet consisted, according to our accounts, of twenty-eight; according to their own, of no more than twenty-four sail. The English had certainly the wind, and might therefore have avoided fighting, if they had so pleased; but this was by no means agreeable to admiral Herbert's temper: he therefore endeavoured all he could to get into the bay, that he might come to a close engagement; but the French saved him the labour, by bearing down upon him in three divisions, about ten in the morning on the first of May. The fight was pretty warm for about two hours; but then slackened, because a great part of the English fleet could not come up; but they continued firing on both sides till about five in the afternoon, when the French fleet stood into the bay, which put an end to the fight. The English writers ascribe this either to want of courage, or to the admiral's being restrained by his orders; but the French inform us, that he retired in order to take care of the ships under his convoy; and that after they had entirely debarked the supply they had brought, he disposed every thing in order to put to sea the next morning, which he did. This is the battle in Bantry Bay, which though inconsiderable enough in itself, (since the English, who had certainly the worst of it, lost only one captain, one lieutenant, and ninety-four men) is yet magnified by some writers into a mighty action.

After the action, admiral Herbert bore away for the Scilly islands, and having cruised there for some time, returned to Spithead; upon which occasion, king William went down in person to Portsmouth, where,



where, to shew he would distinguish and reward merit, though not pointed out to him by success, he declared admiral Herbert earl of Torrington, and knighted captain John Ashby of the *Defiance*, and captain Cloudesly Shovel of the *Edgar*; giving, at the same time, a bounty of ten shillings to each seaman, and making a provision for Mrs. Ailmer, relict of captain Ailmer, and for the rest of the widows of such as had been killed in the action. This was perfectly well judged by that prince, and was indeed an act of his own, flowing from the thorough knowledge he had of mankind, and the necessity there is of keeping up the spirits of the seamen, if we expect they should perform great things.

When king James landed in Ireland, his affairs had certainly a very promising aspect on that side. He brought with him a very considerable supply, and he found there an army of 40,000 men complete. There were but two places in the north that held out against him, viz. London-Derry and Inniskilling. Of these he determined to make himself master; and might have easily done it, if he had been well advised: but, as bishop Burnet justly observes, there was a kind of fatality that hung on his councils.

Commodore Rooke, who had been sent with a squadron in the month of May to the coast of Ireland, performed all that could be expected from him there, by keeping king James and his army from having any intercourse with the Scots; and on the eighth of June, he sailed in with the *Bonaventure*, *Swallow*, *Dartmouth*, and a fleet of transport-ships, under the command of major-general Kirke, who was come with his force to relieve London-Derry. When they came to examine the method taken by the enemy to prevent their relieving the place, they found they had laid a boom cross the river, composed of chains and cables, and floated with timber, there being strong redoubts at each end, well provided with cannon. Major-general Kirke having properly disposed  
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the men of war, on the 30th of July, sent the Mountjoy of Derry, captain Browning, and the Phoenix of Colrain, captain Douglas, both deeply laden with provisions, under the convoy of the Dartmouth frigate, to attempt breaking the boom. The Irish army made a prodigious fire upon these ships as they passed, which was very briskly returned, 'till the Mountjoy struck against the boom, and broke it, and was by the rebound run ashore; upon this, the Irish gave a loud huzza, made a terrible fire upon her, and with their boats attempted to board her: but the sailors firing a broadside, the shock loosened her so, that they floated again, and passed the boom, as did the Phoenix also, under cover of the Dartmouth's fire. This seasonable supply saved the remains of that brave garrison, which, after a hundred and five days close siege, and being reduced from seven thousand five hundred, to four thousand three hundred, had subsistence for only two days left, the enemy raising the siege on the last of July.

The naval transactions of 1690, will commence properly with an account of admiral Russel's sailing into the Mediterranean, though this is, generally speaking, accounted a transaction of the former year; but the reason for placing it here, is the fleet's not putting to sea 'till the spring, though orders were given for it in the preceding winter. His catholic majesty, Charles II. having espoused a princess of the house of Neubourg, sister to the reigning empress, and to the queen of Portugal, demanded an English fleet to conduct her safely to his dominions, which was readily granted; and indeed such a compliment never had been refused even to the states in war with us, because it was always taken as a tacit confession of our dominion at sea. On the 24th of November, admiral Russel sailed with seven large men of war, and two yachts, to Flushing, in order to receive her catholic majesty, and her attendants; and had orders, as soon as the queen came on board, to hoist the  
union

union flag at the main-top-mast head, and to wear it there as long as her majesty was on board. The admiral had orders to put to sea with the first fair wind, and was instructed to block up the harbour of Toulon, in order to prevent the French squadron there from coming out. He sailed, after some delays for want of a fair wind, on the 7th of February, with a stout squadron of thirty men of war, under his command, and a fleet of four hundred merchantmen, bound for the Streights; and after a very tempestuous passage, landed her catholic majesty, on the 16th, at the Groyne. From thence he failed to execute his other commission; which having effected, and having left vice-admiral Killegrew, with the Mediterranean squadron, behind him; bore away with the first fair wind for England.

Vice-admiral Killegrew arrived at Cadiz on the 8th of April, where having, according to his instructions, taken all possible care of the trade, and having been joined by two Dutch men of war, the Guelderland and Zurickzee, he was next to proceed from thence in order to attend the motions of the Toulon squadron. In this, however, he met with no small difficulty, by reason of the stormy weather, which injured several ships of his squadron extreamly; and the two Dutch ships, one of 72, and the other of 62 guns, after losing all their masts, except a mizen, foundered. In repairing these unlucky accidents, a great deal of time was wasted; and, when he afterward got sight of the French ships, they stretched away, and being cleaner ships, would not let our squadron come up with them: on which our admiral gave over the chase.

The French had been very industrious this year, in sending a large fleet to sea, early in the season; for on the 1st or 2d of March, they embarked a great supply for Ireland, under the convoy of a squadron of 36 men of war, attended by four fire-ships, and five flutes, which were afterward joined by another squadron from Provence, with several transports; so that

that in all, they convoyed over 6000 men, beside ammunition and money. On the 8th of April, they left the coasts of that island, in order to return into the road of Brest; which they did safely on the 23d, and then prepared to join their grand fleet, which had orders to assemble under the command of the count de Tourville.

While the French were thus employed, our councils were chiefly bent in sending over a royal army, to be commanded by king William in person, to Ireland. This great design was brought to bear about the beginning of the month of June, when his majesty left London, and embarked his forces on board 288 transports on the 11th, escorted by a squadron of six men of war, under Sir Cloudefly Shovel: he sailed for Carrickfergus, where he safely arrived on the 14th of the same month, and soon after dismissed rear-admiral Shovel, with the Plymouth squadron, with orders to join the grand fleet; which he could not do, till it was too late.

There was nothing better understood in England, than the absolute necessity of assembling early in the year, a strong fleet in the channel. The nation's safety depended on this measure, since the king, and the greatest part of his forces were abroad. Yet, for all this, our maritime proceedings were very slow, for which, various, and some scarcely credible causes are assigned. On the other hand, it was late before the Dutch sent their fleet to sea; and the English, knowing that nothing of consequence could be done, till after their junction, were the less solicitous about putting themselves in order, till they heard of their being at sea.

The conduct of the French, in the mean time, was of quite another kind; for while the squadron before mentioned was gone to Ireland, orders were given for equipping a fleet of sixty sail at Brest, which was to put to sea by the end of May: and though they were forced by contrary winds, to put back again, yet on  
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the 12th of June, they put to sea in three squadrons, each squadron being divided into three divisions: in all there were 78 men of war, 22 fire-ships, and the whole fleet carried upward of 4700 pieces of cannon, under admiral Tourville. On the 13th of June, they steered for the English coast, and the 20th found themselves off the Lizard. The next day the admiral took some English fishing-boats, and after having paid the people who were on board for their fish, he set them at liberty again; and these were the men, such was our supineness! that first brought advice of the arrival of the French fleet on our coast.

The earl of Torrington was at St. Helen's, when he received this news, which must have surprized him very much, since he was so far from expecting any advice of this kind, that he had no scouts to the westward. He put to sea, however, with such ships as he had, and stood to the south-east, on Midsummer-day, leaving his orders, that all the English and Dutch ships which could have notice, should follow him. His whole strength, when collected, consisted of about 34 men of war of several sizes; and the three Dutch admirals had under their command 22 large ships. We need not wonder, therefore, that seeing himself out-numbered by above twenty sail, he was not willing to risk his own honour, and the nation's safety, upon such unequal terms. But the queen, who was then regent, having been informed, that her father's adherents intended a general insurrection; and that if the French fleet continued longer on the coast, this would certainly take effect; by advice of the privy-council, sent him orders to fight at all events, in order to force the French fleet to withdraw. In obedience to this order, as soon as it was light, on the 30th of June, the admiral threw out the signal for drawing into a line, and bore down upon the enemy, while they were under sail.

The signal for a battle was made about eight, when the French braced their head sails to their masts, in  
order

order to lie by. The action began about nine, when the Dutch squadron, which made the van of the united fleets, fell in with the van of the French, and put them into some disorder: About half an hour after, our Blue squadron engaged their rear very warmly; but the Red, commanded by the earl of Torrington in person, which made the center of our fleet, could not come up till about ten: so that the Dutch were almost surrounded by the enemy. The admiral seeing their distress, drove between them and the enemy; and in that situation, anchored about five in the afternoon, when it grew calm: but discerning how much the Dutch had suffered, and how little probability there was of regaining any thing by renewing the fight, he weighed about nine at night, and retired eastward with the tide of flood.

The next day it was resolved in a council of war, held in the afternoon, to preserve the fleet, by retreating; and rather to destroy the disabled ships, if they should be pressed by the enemy, than to hazard another engagement, by endeavouring to protect them. This resolution was executed with as much success as could be expected; which, however, was chiefly owing to want of experience in the French admirals: for by not anchoring when the English did, they were driven to a great distance, and by continuing to chace in a line of battle, instead of leaving every ship at liberty to do her utmost, they could never recover what they lost by their first mistake.

As soon as the earl of Torrington came to town, he was examined before the council; where he justified himself with great presence of mind. The council, however, thought proper to commit his lordship to the Tower; and that they might lessen the clamours of the crowd, and give some satisfaction to the Dutch, they directed a committee to repair to Sheerness, where they were to make a thorough enquiry into the real causes of this disaster.

After raising the siege of Limerick, king William returned into England; where, in a council held on the affairs of Ireland, which were still in a very precarious condition, many of the great cities, and most of the convenient ports being still held for king James, the earl of Marlborough proposed a plan for the immediate reduction of that island. He observed first, that our fleet was now at sea, and that of the French returned to Brest; in which situation, therefore, there was nothing to be feared in relation to descents. He farther remarked, that there were at least 5000 land forces lying idle in England, which might be embarked on board the fleet, even in this late season of the year, and land time enough to perform considerable service. The king readily accepted this offer, gave the command of the troops to the earl of Marlborough, and sent orders to the admirals to send the great ships about to Chatham, and to take on board the remainder of the fleet, the forces ordered for this service.

The admirals hoisted their flag on board the Kent, a third rate; and having embarked the troops with all imaginable expedition, arrived with them before the harbour of Cork, on the 21st of September, in the afternoon. On the 23d, the forces were landed, and joined a body of between 3 and 4000 men, under the command of the duke of Wirtemberg; who, by an ill-timed dispute about the command, had like to have ruined the whole expedition. The city of Cork was very well fortified, and had in it a body of 4000 men: but the earl of Marlborough having observed that the place was commanded by an adjacent hill, he ordered a battery to be erected there on the 24th; and after playing on the town for a few hours, made so considerable a breach, that on the 25th the generals resolved to attack it. The besieged were so terrified at this, that the Irish instantly capitulated. The reduction of King'sale followed soon after.

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The fleet arrived in the Downs on the 8th of October, bringing over with them, by the earl of Marlborough's desire, the governor of Cork, and several persons of quality, who were made prisoners when that city was taken. There the admirals received orders to divide their fleet into small squadrons for several services, and leave only a strong squadron in the Downs, under the command of Sir Cloudesly Shovel, who cruised the remaining part of the year in the Soundings, without any success remarkable enough to deserve notice.

The care of the administration to repair all past errors in naval affairs, and to retrieve the honour of the maritime powers, appeared visibly in the measures taken for sending a great fleet early to sea, in the spring of the year 1691. In order to this, after the earl of Torrington was dismissed from his command, Edward Russel, Esq; was appointed admiral and commander in chief, and immediately received instructions to use the utmost expedition in drawing together the ships of which his fleet was to be composed; and a list of them, to the number of 91, of which 57 were of the line of battle, was annexed to his instructions. He executed these directions with the utmost skill and diligence, and by the 7th of May was ready to put to sea. His orders were to proceed in the Soundings, as soon as he should be joined by the Dutch; and he was likewise directed to take care to block up the port of Dunkirk, in order to prevent the French privateers from disturbing our trade. These directions, however, were but indifferently executed; which our writers attribute to the slowness of the Dutch in sending their ships to join the confederate fleet, which they had stipulated to do by the beginning of May. It is certain, that notwithstanding all his skill and care, admiral Russel found his fleet but indifferently manned, and scantily victualled; at the same time that he was so perplexed by his  
orders,



orders, and with the difficulties started upon every occasion by the Dutch admiral, who very probably was as much cramped by his; that a great part of the months of May and June were spent to very little purpose: and though the French fleet was not in such forwardness this year as it had been the last, yet it was at sea some time before ours had any intelligence of it.

Lewis XIV. seemed at this time to shew a singular vanity in maintaining a prodigious naval force, to make all Europe see how soon, and how effectually, his councils had been able to create a maritime power. He had at this time to deal with the English, Spaniards, and Dutch; and as he was now in the zenith of his glory, he exhausted his treasures, in order, had it been possible, to render himself master at sea. He appointed the count d'Estrees, vice-admiral of France, to command in the Mediterranean a fleet consisting of four large men of war, 5 frigates, 26 gallies, and three bomb-vessels: and, on the other hand, count Tourville was directed to assemble the grand fleet intended for the ocean. This fleet, though very considerable, and excellently provided with every thing necessary, yet was inferior in force to that of the confederates; and therefore count Tourville was instructed to avoid an engagement as much as possible, and to amuse the enemy, by keeping as long as might be in the channel. It must be observed also, that a squadron had been sent, under the command of the marquis de Nesmonde, to carry supplies of all sorts for the relief of king James's army in Ireland.

The Smyrna fleet was expected home this spring; and as the English and Dutch had a joint concern therein, to the amount of upward of four millions sterling, both nations were extremely apprehensive of its being attacked by the French. Precise orders were therefore sent to admiral Russel, to use his utmost care for its preservation: this he performed with equal industry and success; and then steered his course for the coast of France.

Arriving in this station, Sir Cloudesley Shovel was sent to look into Brest, where he saw about forty sail coming out of that port; which proved to be a fleet of merchant-ships from Bretagne, escorted by three men of war. Sir Cloudesley, to decoy these ships into his hands, made use of an excellent stratagem: he knew the French had intelligence that a small squadron of their fleet had made prizes of several English merchantmen; laying hold, therefore, of this piece of false news, he ordered part of his squadron to put out French colours, and the rest to take in theirs. By this method he thought to deceive the French, who might naturally suppose it that squadron with their prizes. This succeeded in part; but the enemy discovered the cheat before he was near enough to do much mischief.

About the latter end of July, admiral Ruffel fell in with a convoy going to the French fleet with fresh provisions; some of these were taken, and from them he learnt that count Tourville had orders to avoid fighting, which he very punctually obeyed, keeping scouts at a considerable distance on all points of the compass by which he could be approached, and these being chased by ours, they immediately ran, making signals to others, that lay within them; so that it was impossible to come up with the body of their fleet.

Being sensible of the dangers that might attend this situation, the admiral wrote home for fresh orders, which he received; but found them so perplexed, that having intelligence of the French fleet's being gone into Brest, he, in the beginning of August, pursuant to the resolution of a council of war, returned to Torbay, from whence he wrote up to court to have his last orders explained. In return he was directed to put to sea again, which he did; and notwithstanding his frequent representations of the inconvenience of having such large ships exposed to the rough weather, which usually happens about the equinox; he was obliged to continue in the Soundings to the 2d of Sep-

September, when he met with such a violent storm, that after doing all that could be done for the preservation of the fleet, it sustained considerable damage, the Coronation, a second rate, and the Harwich, a third rate, being lost.

The whole nation were now convinced, that with respect to our honour and interest in this war, the management of affairs at sea was chiefly to be regarded; and yet, by an unaccountable series of wrong councils, the management of these affairs was worse conducted than any other. The absolute reduction of Ireland, and the war in Flanders, seemed to occupy the king's thoughts entirely; and the care of the navy was left wholly to the board of admiralty, who, to speak in the softest terms, did not manage it much to the satisfaction of the nation. There were, beside, some other things which contributed to hurt our maritime proceedings. A faction was grown up in the fleet against the admiral, and at the same time the government entertained a great jealousy of many of the officers; though to this hour it remains a secret, whether it was, or was not, well founded. The truth appears to be, that king James was better known to the officers of the fleet, than to any other set of men in England; most of them had served under him when lord high-admiral, and many had been preferred by him; which rendered it highly probable, they might have an esteem for his person: but that any of these officers intended to act in his favour, in conjunction with a French force, against their country, is very unlikely: especially if we consider the unanimity with which they went into the revolution, which had been openly acknowledged, and they solemnly thanked for it by the convention. However it was, this is certain, that in parliament, at court, and in the navy, nothing was heard of but jealousies, ill conduct, and want of sufficient supplies for the service; a kind of discourse that lasted all the winter, and which answered very bad purposes.

In the spring of the year 1692, a little before the king went to Holland, he began to communicate his intentions, as to the employment of the fleet, to admiral Russel, who, however, was very far from standing in high favour: but his character, as an officer, and his known steadiness in revolution-principles, supported him; and the king resolved to confide the fleet to his care.

When Lewis XIV. perceived, that it was impossible to support the war in Ireland any longer to advantage, he came to a resolution of employing the forces that were still left king James, to serve his purpose another way. With this view he concerted with the malecontents in England, an invasion on the coast of Sussex; and though for this design it was necessary to draw together a great number of transports, as well as a very considerable body of forces, yet he had both in readiness, before it was so much as suspected here. In short, nothing was wanting to the execution of this design in the beginning of April, but the arrival of count d'Estrees's squadron of 12 men of war, which was to escort the embarkation; while the count de Tourville cruized in the channel with the grand fleet, which was also ready to put to sea, but was detained by contrary winds. Things being in this situation, king James sent over some agents to give his friends intelligence of his motions; and some of these people, in hopes of reward, gave the first clear account of the whole design to the government at home: upon which, order after order was sent to admiral Russel to hasten out to sea, in whatever condition the fleet might be at this time.

King William, as soon as he arrived in Holland, took care to hasten the naval preparations with unusual diligence; so that the fleet was ready to put to sea much sooner than had been expected. As for our admiral, he went on board in the beginning of May; and observing how great advantage the French might reap by the division of our fleet, his first care was to  
write



write to court to desire, that a certain place might be fixed for their conjunction. In return to this, he had orders sent him to cruize between Cape la Hogue and the Isle of Wight, till the squadrons should join with him, though he had proposed the junction should be made off Beachy-head. However, he obeyed his orders as soon as he received them, and plyed it down through the sands, with a very scanty wind, contrary to the opinion of many of his officers, and all the pilots, who were against hazarding so great a fleet in so dangerous an attempt; and yet to this bold stroke of the admiral's, was owing all his following success.

On the 11th day of May, Ruffel sailed from Rye to St. Helen's, where he was joined by the English squadrons under Delaval and Carter; and by the Dutch squadrons, commanded by Allemonde, Callembergh, and Vandergoes. He set sail for the coast of France on the 18th day of May, with a fleet of 99 ships of the line, beside frigates and fire-ships.

Next day, about three o'clock in the morning, he discovered the enemy, under the count de Tourville, and threw out the signal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue division in the rear, and the red in the center. The French fleet did not exceed 63 ships of the line, and as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement; but, he had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Tourville, therefore, bore down along-side of Ruffel's own ship, which he engaged at a very small distance. He fought him with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and sails being considerably damaged, his ship, the *Rising Sun*, that carried 104 cannon, was towed out of the line in great disorder. Nevertheless, the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were descried flying to the northward; and Ruffel made the

signal for chasing. Part of the blue squadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which admiral Carter was mortally wounded. At length, the French bore away for Conquet-Road, having lost four ships in this day's action. Next day, about eight in the morning, they were discovered crowding away to the westward, and the combined fleets chased with all the sail they could carry, until Russel's foretop-mast came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, they still continued the pursuit, and he anchored near Cape la Hogue. On the 22d of the month, about seven in the morning, part of the French fleet was perceived near the Race of Alderney, some at anchor, and some driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. He, and the ships nearest him, immediately slipped their cables and chased. The *Rising-Sun*, having lost her masts, ran ashore near Cherbourg, where she was burned by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the *Admirable*, another first rate, and the *Conquerant* of eighty guns. Eighteen other ships of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports loaded with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp. Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, which escaped through the Race of Alderney, by such a dangerous passage as the English could not attempt, without exposing their ships to the most imminent hazard.

This was a very mortifying defeat to the French king, who had been so long flattered with an uninterrupted series of victories: and reduced James to the lowest ebb of despondence, as it frustrated the whole scheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and despair. Some historians allege, that Russel did not improve his victory

victory with all advantages that might have been obtained before the enemy recovered of their consternation. But this is a malicious imputation; and a very ungrateful return for his manifold services to the nation. He acted in this whole expedition with the genuine spirit of a British admiral: and, in a word, obtained such a decisive victory, that during the remaining part of the war, the French would not hazard another battle by sea with the English.

Russel having ordered Sir John Ashby, and the Dutch admiral Callembergh, to steer toward Havre de Grace, and endeavour to destroy the remainder of the French fleet, sailed back to St. Helen's, that the damaged ships might be refitted, and the fleet furnished with fresh supplies of provision and ammunition: but, his principal motive was to take on board a number of troops provided for a descent upon France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and distract the enemy in their own dominions. In the latter end of July, 7000 men, commanded by the duke of Leinster, embarked on board of transports, to be landed at St. Maloe's, Brest, or Rochfort; and the nation conceived the most sanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, consisting of land and sea-officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate upon the scheme of the ministry, the members unanimously agreed, that the season was too far advanced to put it in execution.

Nothing could be more inglorious for the English than their operations by sea in the course of the summer 1693. The king had ordered the admirals to use all possible dispatch in equipping the fleets, that they might block up the enemy in their own ports, and protect the commerce, which had suffered severely from the French privateers. They were, however, so dilatory in their proceedings, that the squadrons of the enemy sailed from their harbours before the English fleet could put to sea. About

the middle of May it was assembled at St. Helen's, and took on board five regiments, intended for a descent on Brest; but this enterprize was never attempted. When the English and Dutch squadrons joined, so as to form a very numerous fleet, the public expected they would undertake some expedition of importance; but the admirals were divided in their opinion, nor did their orders warrant their executing any scheme of consequence. Killigrew and Delaval did not escape the suspicion of being disaffected to the service; and France was said to have maintained a secret correspondence with the malecontents in England. Lewis had made surprising efforts to repair the damage which his navy had sustained. He had purchased several large vessels, and converted them into ships of war; he had laid an embargo on all the shipping of his kingdom, until his squadrons were manned: he had made a grand naval promotion, to encourage the officers and seamen; and this expedient produced a wonderful spirit of activity and emulation. In the month of May his fleet sailed to the Mediterranean, in three squadrons, consisting of 71 capital ships, beside bomb-ketches, fire-ships, and tenders.

In the beginning of June, the English and Dutch fleets sailed down the channel. On the 6th, Sir George Rooke was detached to the Streights; with a squadron of 23 ships, as convoy to the Mediterranean trade. The great fleet returned to Torbay, while he pursued his voyage, having under his protection about 400 merchant ships belonging to England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, and Flanders. On the 16th, his scouts discovered part of the French fleet under Cape St. Vincent: next day their whole navy appeared, to the amount of 80 sail. Rooke avoided engaging them, which he thought could only tend to their ruin; he directed the vessels nearest land to put into the first Spanish ports, while he stood off with the remainder; however a great number fell into the enemy's hands. The value of the loss sustained

on



on this occasion amounted to one million sterling. Mean while Rooke stood off with a fresh gale, and on the 19th sent home the Lark ship of war, with the news of his misfortune; then he bore away for the Madeiras, where having taken in wood and water, he set sail for Ireland; and in pursuance of orders, he joined the great fleet then cruising in the chops of the channel. On the 25th day of August, they returned to St. Helen's, and the four regiments were landed.

The French admirals, instead of pursuing Rooke to Madeira, made an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, and bombarded Gibraltar, where the merchants sunk their ships, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Then they sailed along the coast of Spain, destroyed some English and Dutch vessels at Malaga, Alicant, and other places; and returned in triumph to Toulon. About this period, Sir Francis Wheeler returned to England with his squadron, from an unfortunate expedition in the West Indies. In conjunction with colonel Codrington, governor of the Leeward islands, he made unsuccessful attempts upon the islands of Martinique and Dominique. Then he sailed to Boston in New England, with a view to concert an expedition against Quebec, which was judged impracticable. He afterward steered for Placentia in Newfoundland, which he would have attacked without hesitation; but the design was rejected by a majority of voices in the council of war. Thus disappointed, he set sail for England; and arrived at Portsmouth in a very shattered condition.

In November another effort was made to annoy the enemy. Commodore Benbow sailed with a squadron of 12 capital ships, four bomb-ketches, and ten brigantines, to the coast of St. Malo; and anchoring within half a mile of the town, cannonaded and bombarded it for three days successively. Then they landed on an island, where they burnt a convent. On the 19th, they took the advantage of a dark night,

night, a fresh gale, and a strong tide, to send in a fire-ship, of a particular contrivance, stiled the Infernal, in order to burn the town; but, she struck upon a rock before she arrived at the place, and the engineer was obliged to set her on fire, and retreat. She continued burning for some time, and at last blew up, with such an explosion as shook the whole town like an earthquake, unroofed 300 houses, and broke all the glass and earthen ware for three leagues round. A capstan, that weighed 200 pounds, was transported into the place, and falling upon a house, levelled it to the ground; the greatest part of the wall toward the sea tumbled down; and the inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation: so that a small number of troops might have taken possession without resistance; but there was not a soldier on board. Nevertheless, the sailors did considerable damage to the town of St. Malo, which had been a nest of privateers that infested the English commerce. Though this attempt was executed with great spirit, and some success, the clamours of the people became louder and louder. But if the English were discontented, the French were miserable, in spite of all their victories. That kingdom laboured under a dreadful famine, occasioned partly from unfavourable seasons, and partly from the war, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground. Notwithstanding all the diligence and providence of their ministry, in bringing supplies of corn from Sweden and Denmark, their care in regulating the price, and furnishing the markets, their liberal contributions for the relief of the indigent; multitudes perished of want, and the whole kingdom was reduced to poverty and distress. Lewis pined in the midst of his success. He saw his subjects exhausted by a ruinous war, in which they had been involved by his ambition. He tampered with the allies apart, in hope of dividing and detaching them from the grand confederacy: he solicited the northern crowns to engage as mediators

for a general peace. A memorial was actually presented by the Danish minister to king William, by which it appears, that the French king would have been contented to purchase a peace with some considerable concessions. But the terms were rejected by the king of England, whose ambition and revenge were not yet gratified; and whose subjects, though heavy laden, could still bear additional burdens.

King William having received intelligence of the design of the French upon Barcelona, endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons, by sending Russel to sea as early as the fleet could be in a condition to sail: but before he arrived at Portsmouth, the Brest squadron had quitted that harbour. And a body of land-forces, intended for a descent upon the coast of France, under the command of general Tollemachè, sailed on the 29th of May, 1694, but effected nothing, and lost their general.

After this unfortunate attempt, lord Berkeley, with the advice of a council of war, sailed back for England; and at St. Helen's received orders from the queen to call a council, and deliberate in what manner the ships and forces might be best employed. They agreed to make some attempt upon the coast of Normandy. With this view they set sail on the 5th day of July. They bombarded Dieppe, and Havre de Grace; and harassed the French troops, who marched after them along-shore. They alarmed the whole coast, and filled every town with such consternation, that they would have been abandoned by the inhabitants, had not they been detained by military force.

During these transactions, admiral Russel with the grand fleet sailed for the Mediterranean; and being joined by rear-admiral Neville from Cadiz, together with Callembergh and Evertzen, he steered toward Barcelona, which was besieged by the French fleet and army. At his approach, Tourville retired with precipitation into the harbour of Toulon; and Noailles  
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abandoned his enterprize. The Spanish affairs were in such a deplorable condition, that without this timely assistance, the kingdom must have been undone. While he continued in the Mediterranean, the French admiral durst not venture to appear at sea; and all his projects were disconcerted. After having asserted the honour of the British flag in those seas during the whole summer, he sailed in the beginning of November to Cadiz, where, by an express order of the king, he passed the winter; during which he took such precautions for preventing Tourville from passing the Streights, that he did not think proper to risque the passage.

While admiral Russel asserted the British dominion in the Mediterranean-sea, the French coasts were again insulted in the channel by a separate fleet, under the command of lord Berkeley, of Straton, assisted by the Dutch admiral Allemonde. On the fourth day of July, 1695, they anchored before St. Malos, which they bombarded from nine ketches covered by some frigates, which sustained more damage than was done to the enemy. On the 6th, Granville underwent the same fate; and then the fleet returned to Portsmouth. The bomb-vessels being refitted, the fleet sailed round to the Downs, where 400 soldiers were embarked for an attempt upon Dunkirk, under the direction of Meesters, the famous Dutch engineer: but to no effect, owing to the ill understanding between the Dutch engineer and the English officers.

A squadron had been sent to the West Indies, under the joint command of captain Robert Wilmot and colonel Lilington, with 1200 land-forces. They had instructions to co-operate with the Spaniards in Hispaniola, against the French settlements on that island, and to destroy their fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, in their return. They were accordingly joined by 1700 Spaniards, raised by the president of St. Domingo; but, instead of proceeding  
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against



against Petit-Guavas, according to the directions they had received, Wilmot took possession of Fort-Francois, and plundered the country for his own private advantage, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Lillingston.

Notwithstanding the great efforts the nation had made to maintain such a number of different squadrons for the protection of commerce, as well as to annoy the enemy, the trade suffered severely from the French privateers, which swarmed in both channels, and made prize of many rich vessels. The marquis of Carmaerthen being stationed with a squadron off the Scilly islands, mistook a fleet of merchant-ships for the Brest fleet, and retired with precipitation to Milford-Haven. In consequence of this retreat, the privateers took a good number of ships from Barbadoes, and five from the East Indies, valued at a million sterling. The merchants renewed their clamour against the commissioners of the admiralty, who produced their orders and instructions in their own defence. The marquis of Carmaerthen had been guilty of a flagrant misconduct on this occasion; but the chief source of those national calamities was the circumstantial intelligence transmitted to France from time to time, by the malcontents of England: for, they were actuated by a scandalous principle, which they still retain, namely, that of rejoicing in the distress of their country.

Toward the end of the year 1696, the nation was again alarmed with the report of an invasion. It was known that the French were fitting out a strong squadron at Brest; and for what service, the intelligence our secretaries had, could not inform them. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, therefore, was sent with a considerable force to block them up, which however the French avoided; and it was then given out at home, that our vigilance had disappointed the designs of the enemy. In this we only deceived ourselves; for our merchants quickly came at the knowledge of the true scheme,

scheme, which was the sending a strong squadron into the West Indies, to attack some of the Spanish plantations in those parts. The *Sieur Pointis* was the person who formed the plan of this undertaking, and who had been no less than three years in bringing it to bear.

The Spaniards were not a little inflamed by the success of *Pointis* in America, where he took *Carthage*, in which he found a booty amounting to eight millions of crowns. Having ruined the fortifications of the place, and received advice that an English squadron, under admiral *Nevil*, had arrived in the West Indies, with a design to attack him in his return, he bore away for the streights of *Bahama*. On the 22d day of May, he fell in with the English fleet, and one of his fly-boats was taken; but, such was his dexterity, or good fortune, that he escaped, after having been pursued five days. After some other disappointments, *Neville* sailed through the gulph of *Florida* to *Virginia*, where he died of chagrin; and the command of the fleet devolved to captain *Dilkes*, who arrived in England on the 24th day of October, with a shattered squadron half manned, to the unspeakable mortification of the people; who flattered themselves with the hopes of wealth and glory from this expedition. Certain it is, the service was greatly obstructed by the faction among the officers, which with respect to the nation had all the effects of treachery and misconduct.

Our limits will not admit our entering into the detail of any naval transactions but those which either in themselves or in their consequences were of importance: and by this time the commerce and maritime strength of the kingdom, were so far advanced, as to render our transactions at sea very numerous and of great influence to our proceedings by land. On so precarious an element, many fleets are fitted out which return without effecting any thing; many such we must occasionally overlook, that we may not omit others

others that merit special notice. Peace was concluded between England, Spain, and Holland, on the one side, and the crown of France on the other, at Ryswick, on September 10th, 1697, by which the French king acknowledged king William's title, and, as the French historians say, gave up more towns than the confederates could have taken in twenty years: but this was not from any principle either of justice or moderation, but with views of quite another sort, as was foreseen then, and in the space of a few years fully appeared.

We have now brought this long war to a conclusion, and it is but just that we should offer the reader some reflections on the consequences of it, to the naval power and commerce of England. First then, with respect to our navy, we have seen that the war opened with a very bad prospect; for though we had an excellent fleet, a vast number of able seamen, and, perhaps, as good officers as any in the world, yet the French got earlier to sea than we did, appeared with a greater force, and managed it better, though we acted then in conjunction with Holland, and according to the general rule of political reasoning, ought to have had it in our power to have driven the French out of the sea.

All this proceeded from the sudden change in our government, which, perhaps, left many of our officers disaffected, and many more without having any proper degree of credit at court. Want of confidence between the administration and the commanders of our fleets, is always destructive to our maritime power; and therefore, instead of wondering that things went on so ill, we may with more justice be surprised, that they went no worse. Our party-divisions not only enervated our own strength, but created such jealousies between us and the Dutch, as blasted the fruits that must have been otherwise produced by this close and fortunate union of the maritime powers.

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But when once the government was thoroughly settled, and we acted cordially in conjunction with the States, it soon became evident, that we were much more than a match for France at sea : and on the whole, the French suffered much more in their maritime power than we : consequently, if we consider the situation of both nations, the ease with which it was in our power to repair our losses, and the almost insuperable difficulties the French had to struggle with in this respect, we must conclude, that not only they, but the whole world had full evidence from thence, of their being no way able to struggle against the Dutch and us in a maritime war. To make this still more apparent, king William, in his speech to both houses of parliament, at the conclusion of the war, asserted our naval force to be near double what it was at his accession.

It will now be necessary to take a retrospective view of some past affairs, in order to preserve a connexion with others to come. The revolution brought back to Scotland several worthy patriots, whom the jealousy of former reigns had driven into other countries. These, from the time of their return, thought of nothing so much as the putting of the trade of Scotland, which had been hitherto in a manner totally neglected, on a proper footing. With this view they procured, in 1693, an act of the Scots parliament, for the encouragement of foreign commerce ; and in consequence of that law, another in 1695, for setting up an East India company. When this was done, it was found requisite to take in subscriptions : and, as it was not easy to find money enough in Scotland, for the carrying on so expensive a design, the company's agents endeavoured to procure subscriptions abroad, particularly at London, Hamburgh, and Amsterdam, in which they were certainly sufficiently supported both by the royal and legislative authority.

But this scheme, as might be foreseen, gave great umbrage to the East India companies in England and  
Holland,



Holland, and they took the best measures they could to hinder the success of these applications. This, however, had some very untoward consequences, since these companies could effect nothing but by the interposition of their respective governments; and by this means his majesty's name, as king of England and stadtholder of Holland, came to be made use of, to thwart these designs which actually had his sanction as king of Scotland.

In the ensuing session of parliament in 1698, the government found itself not a little embarrassed with the affairs of the English East India company. A scheme had been offered for erecting a new company, which was to advance two millions for the public service at eight per cent. and were to carry on this trade by a joint stock. To make way for this, it was proposed to dissolve the old company. The pretence for dissolving it, was a clause in that very charter, reserving such a power to the crown. But as it was not so much as asserted, that since the granting this new charter, they had done any thing that ought to subject them to a dissolution, by moderate and impartial people, who knew nothing of stock-jobbing, this was thought not a little hard.

The East India company in Scotland, finding their designs so vigorously opposed, and having, as they conceived, very large powers vested in them by the late act of parliament, resolved to turn their endeavours another way for the present, and to attempt the settlement of a colony in America, on the Isthmus of Darien. This is that narrow track of country which unites the two continents of North and South America, and consequently must be very advantageously seated for commerce. As the inhabitants had never been conquered by the Spaniards, and, as the new colony sent thither, actually purchased their lands from the native proprietors, and settled there by consent, it was apprehended, that the Spaniards had no right to dispute the establishment; and

that if they did, the planters might defend themselves without involving the nation in a war. But it was soon found, that great mistakes had been made in relation to the consequences expected from it. For the Spaniards not only considered it as an invasion on their rights, and began to take our ships upon it; but the English also grew very uneasy, and made warm representations to his majesty on this subject: this produced private orders to the governors of Jamaica, and other neighbouring plantations, not only to avoid all commerce with the Scots at Darien, but even to deny them provisions. As it was foreseen that these measures would naturally occasion great disturbances in that part of the world, it was found requisite to send a squadron thither, under admiral Benbow, to protect our trade, to awe the Spaniards, and to hinder the increase of pirates, which had been very great ever since the conclusion of the peace; occasioned chiefly by the multitude of privateers that were then thrown out of employment.

In Scotland disputes ran very high on the ruin of the Darien colony. Things were printed on both sides on purpose to inflame the minds of the people, and many thought that it would at last have created a breach between the two nations. The coldness of the king's temper prevented this; he could not either be heated by the English representations, or blown into a passion by the hasty resolutions of the Scots parliament. His moderation toward each of them, if it did not bring them both to a good temper, which was indeed never effected in his reign, yet it gave him an opportunity to keep the wisest people in England and in Scotland, firm to his government, while in the mean time many unforeseen accidents brought about the ruin of the Scots company; so that the ends of their English adversaries were answered, without their having recourse to any harsh means.

The death of the king of Spain now changed all the affairs of Europe, and forced us, who had so lately

lately made a very necessary peace, upon a new, expensive, and dangerous war. It is certain that the king did all he could to avoid it; and that this was the great, if not the sole foundation of the two famous partition-treaties, which were so much exclaimed against by those whose steady opposition to a war, had first brought the king and his ministry to think of them.

When the resolution was once taken to have recourse again to arms, in order to preserve the balance of power, the first care was for the fleet, which his majesty resolved should be much superior to that of the enemy. Preparatory to this was the new commission of the admiralty in the spring of the year 1701, at the head of which was placed the earl of Pembroke, a man universally beloved and esteemed.

The command of the fleet was very judiciously bestowed upon Sir George Rooke, who, on the 2d of July, went on board the *Triumph* in the Downs, where he hoisted the flag. He soon after sailed to Spithead, where he was speedily joined by the rest of the fleet, consisting of 48 ships of the line, beside frigates, fire-ships, and small vessels. He had under him some of the greatest seamen of the age, viz. Sir Cloudesley Shovel, Sir Thomas Hopson, John Benbow, Esq; and Sir John Munden: he was not long after reinforced by 15 Dutch men of war of the line, beside frigates and small vessels, under the command of lieutenant-admiral Allemonde, vice-admiral Vandergoes, and rear-admiral Waeffenaar.

Toward the latter end of August he sailed from Torbay, and the second of September he detached vice-admiral Benbow with a stout squadron for the West Indies; and as this was the principal business of the fleet, and indeed a thing in itself of the highest importance, the admiral detached a strong squadron of English ships under the command of Sir John Munden, and ten sail of Dutch men of war, beside frigates, under rear-admiral Waeffenaar, to see the

West India squadron well into the sea. The French expected that this fleet would have actually proceeded to the Mediterranean; and it was to confirm them in this belief, we had demanded the free use of the Spanish harbours: but this was only to conceal things, and to gain an opportunity of sending a squadron early to the West Indies, without putting it in the power of the French to procure any exact account of its strength: the admiral, after performing this, cruised according to his instructions for some time, and then returned with the largest ships into the Downs.

After this fleet was sent to sea, his majesty, on the 18th of January, thought proper to revoke his letters patent to the commissioners of the admiralty, and to appoint Thomas earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, lord high admiral of England and Ireland, and of the foreign plantations. The design of this promotion was, to be rid of the disadvantages attending a board: and this end it answered perfectly.

The war was now the great object of attention, as well here as in France, though hitherto it was not declared; and negotiations were still carried on in Holland, as if both parties had inclined to an amicable determination of these differences; which was, in reality, the intention of neither. In the midst of our preparations, however, care was taken of a point which nearly concerned trade, and that was uniting the two East India companies; which was done under an act of arbitration: and this agreement was the foundation of that company which has subsisted with so great credit to themselves, and benefit to the nation, ever since.

King William's extraordinary attention to business is thought to have hastened his death, which happened on the 8th of March, 1701-2, about eight in the morning. He died, as he lived, with great steadiness of mind; and shewed himself in his last moments, as much a hero as he had ever done in the field. Never any prince better understood the general interest of Europe,



Europe, or pursued it with greater firmness; and whatever unlucky accidents fell out in his reign to the prejudice of our affairs, were not so much owing to any mistakes in his conduct, as to the circumstances of the times, and our own unfortunate divisions.

Queen Anne ascended the throne on the eighth of March, 1702, in the flower of her age, being then about thirty-eight. She had shewn a very just moderation in her conduct from the time of the revolution, and knew how to temper her relation to the state, with that which she bore to her family; of which she gave a remarkable instance in the latter part of her life, by procuring the island of Sicily for her cousin the duke of Savoy: and she opened her reign by a very wise and well-considered speech to her privy-council. She expressed plainly her opinion for carrying on the preparations against France, and supporting the allies; and said, she would countenance those who concurred with her in maintaining the present constitution and establishment.

The queen, in conformity to this declaration, wrote to the States-general to assure them, that she would follow exactly the steps of her predecessor, in the steady maintenance of the common cause against the common enemy: and the prudent choice of her servants, was sufficient to demonstrate the reality of the queen's intentions.

The first expedition in this reign, was that of Sir John Munden, rear-admiral of the Red, which was intended for intercepting a squadron of French ships, that were to sail from the Groyne, in order to carry the new vice-roy of Mexico to the Spanish West Indies. He sailed on the 12th of May, 1702, with eight ships of the third rate, the Salisbury a fourth rate, and two frigates. On the 28th day of the month, he chased 14 sail of ships into Corunna. Then he called a council of war, in which it was agreed, that as the place was strongly fortified, and by the intelligence they had received, it appeared

that 17 of the enemy's ships of war rode at anchor in the harbour; it would be expedient for them to follow the latter part of their instructions, by which they were directed to cruise in soundings for the protection of the trade. They returned accordingly; and being distressed by want of provisions, came into port, to the general discontent of the nation. For the satisfaction of the people, Sir John Munden was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted; but as this miscarriage had rendered him very unpopular, prince George, who was now created lord high-admiral, dismissed him from the service.

King William had projected a scheme to reduce Cadiz, with intention to act afterward against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. This design queen Anne resolved to put in execution. Sir George Rooke commanded the fleet, and the duke of Ormond was appointed general of the land-forces destined for this expedition. The combined squadrons amounted to fifty ships of the line, exclusive of frigates, fireships, and smaller vessels; and the number of soldiers embarked was not far short of 14,000. In the latter end of June the fleet sailed from St. Helen's; and on the 12th of August they anchored at the distance of two leagues from Cadiz: but the attempt miscarried. However, captain Hardy, having been sent to water in Lagos-bay, received intelligence, that the galleons from the West Indies had put into Vigo, under convoy of a French squadron. He sailed immediately in quest of Sir George Rooke, who was now on his voyage back to England; and falling in with him on the 6th day of October, communicated the substance of what he had learned. Rooke immediately called a council of war, in which it was determined to alter their course and attack the enemy at Vigo.

He forthwith detached some small vessels for intelligence, and received a confirmation, that the galleons, and the squadron, commanded by Chateau Renault,

Renault, were actually in the harbour. They sailed thither, and appeared before the place on the 11th day of October. The passage into the harbour was narrow, secured by batteries, forts, and breast-works on each side; by a strong boom, consisting of iron chains, topmasts, and cables, moored at each end to a seventy gun ship, and fortified within by five ships of the same strength, lying athwart the channel, with their broad-sides to the offing. As the first and second rates of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the admirals shifted their flags into smaller ships; and a division of 25 English and Dutch ships of the line, with their frigates, fireships and ketches, was destined for the service. In order to facilitate the attack, the duke of Ormond landed with 2500 men, at the distance of six miles from Vigo, and took by assault a fort and platform of forty pieces of cannon, at the entrance of the harbour.

The British ensign was no sooner seen flying at the top of this fort, than the ships advanced to the attack. Vice-admiral Hopson, in the *Torbay*, crowding all his sail, ran directly against the boom, which was broken by the first shock; then the whole squadron entered the harbour, through a prodigious fire from the enemy's ships and batteries. These last, however, were soon stormed and taken by the grenadiers who had been landed. The great ships lay against the forts at each side of the harbour, which in a little time they silenced; though vice-admiral Hopson narrowly escaped from a fireship by which he was boarded. After a very vigorous engagement, the French finding themselves unable to cope with such an adversary, resolved to destroy their ships and galleons, that they might not fall into the hands of the victors. They accordingly burned and ran ashore eight ships and as many advice-boats; but the ten ships of war were taken, together with eleven galleons. Though they had secured the best part of their plate and merchandize before the English fleet arrived, the

value of fourteen million of pieces of eight, in plate and rich commodities, was destroyed in six galleons that perished; but, about half that value was brought off by the conquerors: so that this was a dreadful blow to the enemy, and a noble acquisition to the allies. Immediately after this exploit Sir George Rooke was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had been sent out with a squadron to intercept the galleons. This officer was left to bring home the prizes and dismantle the fortifications, while Rooke returned in triumph to England.

The glory which the English acquired in this expedition was in some measure tarnished by the conduct of some officers in the West Indies. Thither admiral Benbow had been detached with a squadron of ten sail, in the course of the preceding year. At Jamaica he received intelligence, that monsieur Du Cassé was in the neighbourhood of Hispaniola, and resolved to beat up to that island. At Leogane he fell in with a French ship of fifty guns, which her captain ran ashore and blew up. He took several other vessels, and having alarmed Petit-Guavas, on the 19th of August, discovered the enemy's squadron near St. Martha, consisting of ten sail, steering along shore. He formed the line; and an engagement ensued, in which he was very ill seconded by some of his captains. Nevertheless, the battle continued till night, and he determined to renew it next morning, when he perceived all his ships at the distance of three or four miles astern, except the Ruby, commanded by captain George Walton, who joined him in plying the enemy with chase-guns. On the 21st, these two ships engaged the French squadron; and the Ruby was so disabled, that the admiral was obliged to send her back to Jamaica. Next day the Greenwich, commanded by Wade, was five leagues astern; and the wind changing, the enemy had the advantage of the weather-gage. On the 23d, the admiral renewed the battle with his single ship, unsustained by the rest of  
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the squadron. On the 24th, his leg was shattered by a chain-shot; notwithstanding which accident, he remained on the quarter-deck in a cradle, and continued the engagement. One of the largest ships of the enemy lying like a wreck upon the water, four sail of the English squadron poured their broad-sides into her, and then ran to leeward, without paying any regard to the signal for battle. Then the French, bearing down upon the admiral with their whole force, shot away his maintopsail-yard, and damaged his rigging in such a manner, that he was obliged to lie by and refit, while they took their disabled ship in tow. During this interval, he called a council of his captains, and expostulated with them on their behaviour. They observed, that the French were very strong, and advised him to desist. He plainly perceived that he was betrayed, and with the utmost reluctance returned to Jamaica, having not only lost a leg, but also received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, while he in person boarded the French admiral.

Exasperated at the treachery of his captains, he granted a commission to rear-admiral Whetstone and other officers to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudson, of the *Pendennis*, died before his trial: Kirby and Wade were convicted, and sentenced to be shot: Constable, of the *Windfor*, was cashiered and imprisoned: Vincent, of the *Falmouth*, and Fogg, the admiral's own captain of the *Breda*, were convicted of having signed a paper, that they would not fight under Benbow's command; but, as they behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted upon them no other punishment than that of a provisional suspension. Captain Walton had likewise joined in the conspiracy while he was heated with the fumes of intoxication; but he afterward renounced the engagement, and fought with admirable courage until his ship was disabled. The boisterous manners of Benbow had produced this base confederacy. He was a rough seaman; but remarkably  
brave,

brave, honest, and experienced. He took this miscarriage so much to heart, that he became melancholy; and his grief co-operating with the fever occasioned by his wounds, put a period to his life. Wade and Kirby were sent home in the Bristol; and, on their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board of the ship, by virtue of a dead-warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time. The same precaution had been taken in all the western ports, in order to prevent applications in their favour. When Du Casse arrived at Carthagene, he wrote a letter to Benbow to this effect:—"Sir, I had little hope on Monday last, but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up; for, by God, they deserve it. Yours, Du Casse."

The grand fleet was commanded in 1703 by Sir Cloudesley Shovel: it consisted at first of 27 ships of the line, and the admiral had under him rear-admiral Byng, and Sir Stafford Fairborne; and being afterward reinforced with eight ships more, these were commanded by vice-admiral Leake. His instructions were very large; but all of them might be reduced to these three heads, viz. annoying the enemy, assisting our allies, and protecting our trade. He pursued his instructions as far as he was able; and having secured the Turkey fleet, he intended to have staid some time upon the coast of Italy. But the Dutch admiral, who was with him, informed him, that both his orders and his victuals required his thinking of a speedy return; and it was with much difficulty that Sir Cloudesley Shovel prevailed upon him to go to Leghorn. In the mean time, the instructions he had to succour the Cevennois, who were then in arms against the French king, were found impracticable. This admiral having renewed the peace with the piratical states of Barbary, returned to England, without having been able to execute  
any

any thing that looked like the result of a concerted scheme. The nation naturally murmured at this fruitless expedition, by which it had incurred such a considerable expence. The merchants complained that they were ill supplied with convoys. The ships of war were victualled with damaged provision; and every article of the marine being mismanaged, the blame fell upon those who acted as council to the lord high-admiral.

Nor were the arms of England by sea much more successful in the West Indies. Sir George Rooke, in the preceding year, had detached from the Mediterranean captain Hovenden Walker, with six ships of the line and transports, having on board four regiments of soldiers, for the Leeward islands. Being joined at Antigua by some troops under colonel Codrington, they made a descent upon the island Guadaloupe, where they razed the fort, burned the town, ravaged the country, and reembarked with precipitation, in consequence of a report that the French had landed 900 men on the back of the island. They retired to Nevis, where they must have perished by famine, had not they been providentially relieved by vice-admiral Graydon, in his way to Jamaica. This officer had been sent out with three ships to succeed Benbow, and was convoyed about 150 leagues by two other ships of the line. He had not sailed many days, when he fell in with part of the French squadron, commanded by Du Cassé, on their return from the West Indies, very foul and richly laden. Captain Cleland of the Montague engaged the sternmost; but he was called off by a signal from the admiral, who proceeded on his voyage without taking farther notice of the enemy.

The only exploit that tended to the distress of the enemy, was performed by rear-admiral Dilkes, who, in the month of July, sailed to the coast of France with a small squadron: and, in the neighbourhood of Granville,

Granville, took or destroyed about 40 ships and their convoy. Yet this damage was inconsiderable when compared to that which the English navy sustained from the dreadful tempest that began to blow on the 27th day of November, accompanied with such flashes of lightning, and peals of thunder, as overwhelmed the whole kingdom with consternation. The houses in London shook from their foundations, and some of them falling, buried the inhabitants in their ruins: but the chief national damage fell upon the navy. Thirteen ships of war were lost, together with 1500 seamen, including rear-admiral Beaumont, who had been employed in observing the Dunkirk squadron, and was then at anchor in the Downs, where his ship foundered. This great loss, however, was repaired with incredible diligence, to the astonishment of all Europe. The queen immediately issued orders for building a greater number of ships than that which had been destroyed; and she exercised her bounty for the relief of the shipwrecked seamen, and the widows of those who were drowned, in such a manner as endeared her to all her subjects.

The emperor having declared his second son Charles, king of Spain, he was conveyed to Portugal by the English fleet, under Sir George Rooke. The admiral having landed king Charles at Lisbon, sent a squadron to cruise off cape Spartell, under the command of rear-admiral Dilkes, who, on the 12th of March, 1704, engaged and took three Spanish ships of war, bound from St. Sebastian to Cadiz. On the 16th day of June, Sir George Rooke, being joined by Sir Cloudefley Shovel, resolved to proceed up the Mediterranean in quest of the French fleet, which had sailed thither from Brest, and which Rooke had actually discovered in the preceding month, on their voyage to Toulon. On the 17th day of July, the admiral called a council of war in the road of Tetuan, when they resolved to make an attempt upon Gibraltar, which was but slenderly provided with a garrison.

Thither



Thither they sailed, and on the 21st day of the month the prince of Hesse landed on the isthmus with eighteen hundred marines: next day the admiral gave orders for cannonading the town; and perceiving that the enemy were driven from their fortifications at the south molehead, commanded captain Whitaker to arm all the boats, and assault that quarter. The captains Hicks and Jumper, who happened to be nearest the mole, immediately manned their pinnaces, and entered the fortifications sword in hand. The Spaniards sprung a mine, by which two lieutenants and about 100 men were killed or wounded. Nevertheless, the two captains took possession of a platform, and kept their ground until they were sustained by captain Whitaker and the rest of the seamen, who took by storm a redoubt between the mole and the town. Then the governor capitulated; and the prince of Hesse entered the place, amazed at the success of this attempt, considering the strength of the fortifications, which might have been defended by fifty men against a numerous army.

A sufficient garrison being left with his highness, the admiral returned to Tetuan to take in wood and water; and when he sailed, on the 9th day of August, he descried the French fleet, to which he gave chase with all the sail he could spread. On the 13th he came up with it, as it lay in a line off Malaga ready to receive him, to the number of 52 great ships, and 24 gallies, under the command of the count de Tholouse, high-admiral of France, with the inferior flags of the white and blue divisions. The English fleet consisted of 53 ships of the line, exclusive of frigates; but they were inferior to the French in number of guns and men, as well as in weight of metal; and altogether unprovided of gallies, from which the enemy reaped great advantage during the engagement. A little after ten in the morning, the battle began with equal fury on both sides, and continued to rage with doubtful success till two in the after-

afternoon, when the van of the French gave way: nevertheless the fight was maintained till night, when the enemy bore away to leeward. The wind shifted before morning, the French gained the weather-gage; but they made no use of this advantage: for two successive days, the English admiral endeavoured to renew the engagement, which the count de Tholouse declined, and at last he disappeared. The loss was pretty equal on both sides, though not a single ship was taken or destroyed by either: but the honour of the day certainly remained with the English.

Philip king of Spain, alarmed at the reduction of Gibraltar, sent the marquis de Villadarias with an army to retake it. The siege lasted four months; during which the prince of Hesse exhibited many shining proofs of courage and ability: but the Spaniards were at length forced to abandon the undertaking. A second attempt succeeded no better.

While these great things were doing in the Mediterranean, Sir George Byng was sent with a small squadron of cruisers into the Soundings. He sailed in the latter end of January, 1705, with a large and rich fleet of outward-bound merchant-ships. As soon as he had seen these safe into the sea, he disposed of his squadron in such a manner, as he thought most proper for securing our own trade, and for meeting with the French privateers. He was so fortunate as to take from the enemy a man of war of 44 guns, 12 privateers, and 7 merchant-ships, most of which were richly laden from the West Indies. The number of men taken on board all these prizes was upward of 2,000, and of guns 334. This gave such a blow to the French privateers, that they scarce ventured into the channel all the year after, but chose rather to sail northward, in hopes of meeting with some of our ships homeward-bound from the Baltic.

The first orders received by the grand fleet, commanded by the famous earl of Peterborough, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel, as joint admirals; were, to proceed

proceed for the Mediterranean, with the force then ready, which amounted to 29 sail of line of battle ships, beside frigates, fireships, bombs, and other small craft. On the 11th of June they arrived in the river of Lisbon, where they found Sir John Leake, with a squadron, in great want of provisions. On the 15th of June, a council of war was held, in which it was determined to put to sea with 48 ships of the line, English and Dutch, and dispose them in such a station between cape Spartell and the bay of Cadiz, as might best prevent the junction of the French squadrons from Toulon and Brest.

On the 22d of June, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, with the fleet, sailed for Lisbon; from thence he sailed to Altea-bay, and there took in his catholic majesty, who pressed the earl of Peterborough to make an immediate attempt on the city of Barcelona, and the province of Catalonia; where he was assured the people were well affected to him. This being agreed to, the fleet sailed accordingly to Barcelona, and arrived on the 12th of August. The surrender of this capital of Catalonia so strengthened king Charles's party, that the whole principality, Roses only excepted, submitted soon after.

All the world knows, that the reduction of Barcelona has been considered as one of the most extraordinary events that fell out in this, or, perhaps, in any modern war; and though we have already many accounts of it, which seem to attribute it, some to one thing, some to another; yet nothing but the assistance given by our fleet could possibly have reduced it.

In this year our successes had been so great both by sea and land, and there appeared so fair a prospect of humbling the house of Bourbon in Flanders, and of driving them out of Spain, that when her majesty thought fit to recommend the Spanish war in a particular manner to parliament, the house of commons immediately voted large supplies for the year 1706:

so

so that the ministry had nothing to consider, but how to employ them in such a manner, as that those, upon whom they were raised, might be satisfied that they were laid out for their service; and this produced a resolution of equipping a numerous fleet, as early as it was possible. This, with the settling the terms of the union, were the matters which principally took up the attention of this session of parliament.

Had the issue of the campaign in Catalonia been such as the beginning seemed to prognosticate, the French king might have in some measure consoled himself for his disgraces in the Netherlands. On the 6th day of April, king Philip, at the head of a numerous army, undertook the siege of Barcelona, while the count de Thoulouse blocked it up with a powerful squadron: but the arrival of an English fleet, under Sir John Leake, saved the city: the French squadron sailed away for Toulon, and king Philip abandoned the siege. The English fleet continued all the summer in the Mediterranean: they secured Carthagená, which had declared for Charles: they took the town of Alicánt by assault, and the castle by capitulation. Then sailing out of the Streights, one squadron was detached to the West Indies, another ordered to lie at Lisbon, and the rest were sent home to England. But affairs fell into such distraction in the West Indies, that we were not either in a condition to hurt the enemy's settlements, or so much as able to defend our own. The truth seems to be, that the great fleets we fitted out every year to the Mediterranean, and the cruisers that were necessary upon our coasts, took up so many ships, that it was scarcely possible to supply even the reasonable demands of the West Indies.

A scheme being formed to attempt Toulon, and Sir Cloudesley Shovel having joined Sir George Byng near Alicánt, the fleet came to an anchor before Final on the 5th of June, 1707, consisting of 43 men of war and 57 transports; where, in a council of war,  
at



at which prince Eugene assisted, it was resolved to force a passage near the van, in which the English admiral promised to assist. On the last day of June this enterprize was undertaken, to the great astonishment of the French, who believed their works upon that river to be impregnable. Sir John Norris, with some British, and one Dutch man of war, failed to the mouth of the river, and embarking 600 seamen and marines in open boats, entered it, and advanced within musket-shot of the enemy's works, making such a terrible fire upon them, that their cavalry and many of their foot began to quit their entrenchments, and could not be prevailed upon by their officers to return. Sir Cloudesly Shovel, who followed Sir John, no sooner saw this confusion, than he ordered the latter to land with the seamen and marines in order to flank the enemy. This was performed with so much spirit, and Sir John and his seamen scampered so suddenly over the French works, that the enemy, struck with a panic, threw down their arms and fled with the utmost precipitation. The duke of Savoy immediately pursued this advantage, and in half an hour passed that river, which had, without this assistance, proved the ne plus ultra of his expedition; and marched toward Toulon, with an army of thirty-five thousand men. The siege of this place was not formed before the 15th of July, when 100 cannon, with 200 rounds of powder and shot, and a considerable number of seamen to serve as gunners, with all other things wanting for the camp, were supplied from the ships: so that affairs had a very good aspect till the 4th of August, when the enemy, making a vigorous sally, forced the confederate troops out of the works, and drew eight or ten guns into the town. In this action were killed and wounded above 800 men: so that on the 6th, after embarking the sick and wounded, and withdrawing the cannon, the siege from that time was turned only to a cannonading and bombardment.

The very day the army began to march, five bomb vessels, supported by the lightest frigates and all the boats of the men of war, under the command of rear-admiral Dilkes, advanced into the creek of fort St. Lewis; and notwithstanding a prodigious fire from the place, bombarded the town and harbour from noon till five next morning with all the success which could be expected, the land army in the meantime quitting their camp at La Villette, which they did in five columns with great safety, the duke of Savoy marching back in two days as far as in his approach to the place he had done in six.

Sir Cloudefly Shovel being not a little chagrined at the miscarriage of an expedition on which he had set his heart, bent his course homeward. Coming into the Soundings on the 23d of October, he struck upon the rocks called the Bishop and his Clerks, and in two minutes nothing more of him or his ship was seen, and three or four more of his fleet also perished with him.

But at the time that our fleets were every where superior to those of the enemy, our trade suffered in almost all parts of the world by their small squadrons of men of war, as well as privateers.

About this time the French played off a project, which they repeated more than once since. This was, the attempt upon Scotland, in favour of the chevalier de St. George; which was the *Nomme de Guerre* they were pleased to give the person, whom the queen soon after distinguished by the name of the Pretender.

The troops intended for this attempt, were about eleven or twelve battalions, under the command of the marquis de Gace, afterward stiled the marshal de Matignon. The fleet consisted of but eight men of war, which was commanded by the count de Forbin, who is said to have disliked the design, because, very probably, he knew the bottom of it: for it is very certain, the French never intended to land, and refused the chevalier to set him on shore, though he would

would have gone with his own servants. The true scheme of the French king was, to create a diversion to embarrass the queen and her ministry at home, that they might have the less leisure to prosecute their views abroad: and from these motives, he ordered his ministers in all foreign courts, to talk in very magnificent terms, of the succours he gave to the king of England, as he thought fit to call him; that on the rebound, they might make the louder noise in Britain. Our public securities fell surprisngly, and things would have fallen into downright confusion, if the fright had not been quickly over. This was owing to the care of the admiralty, who, with remarkable diligence, fitted out a fleet of 24 men of war, with which, Sir George Byng, and lord Dursley, sailed for the French coast, on the 27th of February, 1708. On Sir George Byng's anchoring before Gravelin, the French officers laid aside their embarkation; but upon express orders from court, were obliged to resume it; and on the 6th of March, actually sailed out of Dunkirk; but being taken short by contrary winds, came to an anchor till the 8th, and then continued their voyage for Scotland.

Sir George Byng pursued them with a fleet of forty ships of the line, beside frigates and fireships. He afterward detached rear-admiral Baker, with a small squadron, to convoy the troops that were sent from Ostend, and prosecuted his expedition with the rest.

He sailed directly to the frith of Edinburgh, where he arrived almost as soon as the enemy, who immediately took the advantage of a land-breeze, and bore away with all the sail they could carry. The English admiral gave chase; and the Salisbury, one of their ships, was boarded and taken. At night monsieur de Fourbin altered his course; so that the next day they were out of reach of the English squadron. The pretender desired they would proceed to the northward, and land him at Inverness, and Fourbin seemed willing to gratify this request; but the wind changing

and blowing in their teeth with great violence, he represented the danger of attempting to prosecute the voyage; and, with the consent of the chevalier de St. George and his general, returned to Dunkirk, after having been tossed about a whole month in very tempestuous weather. In the mean time, Sir George Byng sailed up to Leith road, where he received the freedom of the city of Edinburgh in a golden box, as a testimony of gratitude for his having delivered them from the dreadful apprehensions under which they laboured.

Certain it is, the pretender could not have chosen a more favourable opportunity for making a descent upon Scotland. The people in general were disaffected to the government on account of the union; the regular troops under Leven did not exceed 2500 men; and even great part of these would in all probability have joined the invader: the castle of Edinburgh was destitute of ammunition, and would in all appearance have surrendered at the first summons; in which case the Jacobites must have been masters of the equivalent money lodged in that fortress; a good number of Dutch ships loaded with cannon, small arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money, had been driven on shore in the shire of Angus: where they would have been seized by the friends of the pretender, had the French troops been landed; and all the adherents of that house were ready to appear in arms.

The campaign in Catalonia, which we cannot enter into, was productive of a great event. Sir John Leake, having taken on board a handful of troops, under the conduct of the marquis D'Alconzel, set sail for Cagliari, in Sardinia, and summoned the viceroy to submit to King Charles. As he did not send an immediate answer, the admiral began to bombard the city, and the inhabitants compelled him to surrender at discretion. The greater part of the garrison enlisted themselves in the service of Charles. Major-general



general Stanhope having planned the conquest of Minorca, and concerted with the admiral the measures necessary to put it in execution, obtained from count Staremberg a few battalions of Spaniards, Italians, and Portuguese, embarked at Barcelona, with a fine train of British artillery, accompanied by brigadier Wade and colonel Petit, an engineer of great reputation. They landed on the island about two miles from St. Philip's fort, on the twenty-sixth of August, with about eight hundred marines, which augmented their number to about three thousand. Next day they erected batteries; and general Stanhope ordered a number of arrows to be shot into the place, to which papers were affixed, written in the Spanish and French languages, containing threats, that all the garrison should be sent to the mines, if they would not surrender before the batteries were finished. The garrison consisted of a thousand Spaniards, and six hundred French marines, commanded by colonel la Jonquiere, who imagined that the number of the besiegers amounted to at least ten thousand; so artfully had they been drawn up in sight of the enemy. The batteries began to play, and in a little time demolished four towers that served as outworks to the fort: then they made a breach in the outward wall, through which brigadier Wade, at the head of the grenadiers, stormed a redoubt, with such extraordinary valour as struck the besieged with consternation. On the second or third day they thought proper to beat a parley, and capitulate, on condition, That they should march out with the honours of war: That the Spaniards should be transported to Murcia, and the French to Toulon. The Spanish governor was so mortified when he learned the real number of the besiegers, that on his arrival at Murcia, he threw himself out of a window in despair, and was killed upon the spot. La Jonquiere was confined for life, and all the French officers incurred their master's displeasure. Fort St. Philip being thus reduced, to the amazement

of all Europe; and the garrison of Port Fornelles having surrendered themselves prisoners to the admirals Leake and Whitaker, the inhabitants gladly submitted to the English government.

During the course of this year the English merchants sustained no considerable losses by sea: the cruisers were judiciously stationed, and the trade was regularly supplied with convoys. In the West Indies Commodore Wager destroyed the admiral of the galleons, and took the rear-admiral on the coast of Carthage. Had the officers of his squadron done their duty, the greatest part of the fleet would have fallen into his hands. At his return to Jamaica two of his captains were tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from the service.

On the twenty-eighth day of October prince George of Denmark died of an asthma and dropsy, with which he had been long afflicted. He was a prince of an amiable rather than a shining character, brave, good-natured, modest, and humane, but devoid of great talents and ambition. He had always lived in harmony with the queen, who, during the whole term of their union, and especially in his last illness, approved herself a pattern of conjugal truth and tenderness. At his death the earl of Pembroke was created lord high admiral.

As this war was prosecuted chiefly on the continent, where the duke of Marlborough gained such glorious, though unprofitable advantages, over the French; the events of that war rather furnish materials for a general, than for a naval history. Our fleets indeed were respectable where-ever they were sent, and proved of great benefit to King Charles in his contest for Spain: but to follow his fortunes would carry us into too wide a field; and the convoys appointed for every fleet of merchantmen, would prove but tedious details, would our limits allow the mention of them. These therefore we pass over, as well as the unsuccessful attempt on Quebec, under Sir Hovenden

Hovenden Walker: two wars of a much more interesting nature call for our attention, we therefore pass on to the peace of Utrecht, which was privately signed April 1st, 1713, at the house of doctor Robinson, bishop of Bristol. In this treaty, though all was not obtained from France that might have been, after so long, and withal, successful a war; yet much was got by it, and greater advantages would certainly have attended it, had it not been for the disturbance given our ministers at home, by the opposition to their measures.

Not to insist on the adequate satisfaction, which was by this treaty stipulated for all our allies, it procured us, as a trading nation, far greater advantages. For Dunkirk having been put into our hands, we shall find what was to become of it from the ninth article of the treaty, by which it was stipulated as follows:—"The most Christian king shall take care that all the fortifications of the city of Dunkirk be razed; that the harbour be filled up; and that the sluices, or moles, which serve to cleanse the harbour, be levelled; and that, at the said king's own expence, within the space of five months, after the conditions of peace are concluded and signed: that is to say, the fortifications toward the sea, within the space of two months; and those toward the land, together with the said banks, within three months; on this express condition also, that the said fortifications, harbour, moles, or sluices, be never repaired again." This demolition was of vast importance, for lying but thirteen leagues from the South Foreland, any easterly wind which carries our ships down the channel, brings out those at Dunkirk to intercept them: the very situation of the place, furnishes the enemy with advantage; for the east end of the channel, which is exposed to Dunkirk, is but seven leagues broad, whence they may see our ships from side to side. So that by this demolition, six parts in nine of our trade from London, is freed from the hazards to which they were

exposed in time of war, while Dunkirk was open. Beside, this was a heavy blow to the naval power of France, and especially their trade to the West Indies; and their submitting to this article, was not only a clear proof of our superior force, but of the great distress they had then been plunged into. They endeavoured indeed to shift off, and afterward mitigate the execution of this article; but the queen insisting on its demolition, according to the letter, it was done as effectually as could be desired.

To conclude; it may be observed, that, upon the close of the war, the French found themselves totally deprived of all pretensions to the dominion of the sea. Most of our conquests, indeed all of them that were of any use to us, were made by, or at least chiefly by, our fleets. Sir George Rooke took Gibraltar, and Sir John Leake reduced Minorca; and it is also evident, that it was our fleet alone that supported king Charles in Catalonia, and kept the king of Portugal steady to the grand alliance; which, beside the advantages it brought to the common cause, secured to us the invaluable profits of our trade to that country: and all this against the spirit, genius, and inclination of the king of Portugal, and his ministers, who were all, at that time, in the French interest in their hearts.

At the same time, our fleets prevented the French from so much as sailing on the Mediterranean, where they had made a figure in the last war; and kept many of the Italian states in awe. The very Algerines, and other piratical states of Barbary, contrary to their natural propensity toward the French, were now obsequious to us, and entertained no manner of doubt of the superiority of our flag. The slackness of the Dutch, in sending ships to this part of the world, had, in this respect, an effect happy enough for us, since it occasioned our being considered as the leading power, by all who had any concerns with us and them.

The



The treaty of Utrecht, which put an end to our disputes abroad, proved the cause of high debates, and great distractions at home. The people grew uneasy, the ministry divided, and the heats and violence of party rose to such a height, that her majesty found herself so embarrassed, as not to be able either to depend upon those in power, or to venture to turn them out. The uneasiness of mind, that such a perplexed situation of affairs occasioned, had a very bad effect upon her health, which had been in a declining condition from the time of prince George's death; and a quarrel between two of her principal ministers, in her presence, proved, in some measure, the cause of her death, which happened August 1st, 1714.

ABSTRACT of the ROYAL NAVY, as it stood at the Death of QUEEN ANNE.

Rates.	Number.	Guns.	Men.
I.	7	714	5,312
II.	13	1,170	7,194
III.	39	2,890	16,089
IV.	66	3,490	16,058
V.	32	1,190	4,160
VI.	25	500	1,047
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	182	9,954	49,860
Fire-ships, &c. }			
about ——— }	50		

We now arrive at another change in our government, brought about by a statute made in the twelfth year of king William III. for limiting the succession of the crown; by which, after the death of the queen, then princess Anne, without issue, it was to pass to the most illustrious house of Hanover, as the next protestant heirs: for the princess Sophia, electress dowager of Hanover, was daughter to the queen of Bohemia, who, before her marriage with the elector Palatine, was styled the princess Elizabeth of Great Britain,

Britain, daughter to James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England; in whom united all the hereditary claims to the imperial crown of these realms.

But, the princess Sophia dying a very little while before the queen, George-Lewis, elector of Hanover, her son, became heir of this crown, on the demise of queen Anne, and was accordingly called to the succession, in the manner directed by another statute, passed in the fourth year of her majesty's reign.

His majesty arriving from Holland on the 18th of September, and making his public entry on the 20th, took the reins of government into his own hands. A new parliament was summoned, and met at Westminster, March the 17th, 1715, and came to a resolution, to allow ten thousand seamen at four pounds a month; beside other large sums for other naval contingencies. These were thought necessary, because, at this juncture, the fleet of Great Britain was much decayed; and it was foreseen, that, notwithstanding the peace so lately concluded, new disputes were likely to arise.

Amongst these disputes, the most serious was that in which we were engaged with Sweden. This had begun before the queen's death, and was occasioned by the Swedish privateers taking many of our ships, which, with their cargoes, were confiscated; under a pretence that we assisted and supplied the Czar and his subjects, with ships, arms, ammunition, &c. contrary, as was suggested, to our treaties with the crown of Sweden. Several memorials had been presented upon this subject, without receiving any satisfactory answer; and, therefore, it was now thought expedient to send a strong squadron of men of war into the Baltic; the rather, because their high mightinesses the states-general, labouring under the same inconveniencies, found themselves obliged, after all pacific methods had been tried in vain, to have recourse to the same measures.

On

On the 18th of May a squadron of twenty sail was appointed for this service, under Sir John Norris, who arrived in the Sound on the 10th of June following: where, finding the Dutch squadron, it was resolved, that the combined fleet should proceed together, with the English and Dutch merchantmen under their convoy for their respective ports. About the middle of the month of August, the Danish fleet, consisting of twenty ships of the line, with the Russian squadron, resolved to sail up the Baltic, with the English and Dutch.

On the arrival of Sir John Norris in the Baltic, our minister presented a memorial, in which he set forth, the particular damages sustained by our merchants; for which he demanded satisfaction; and, at the same time, insisted on the repeal of an edict, which his Swedish majesty had lately published, and by which the commerce of the Baltic was wholly prohibited to the English. This memorial was presented, June 15, 1715, and in it, the nature of Sir John Norris's commission was explained; but he received a very unsatisfactory answer. Thus far, all this quarrel seems to arise from his majesty's care of the British commerce. But as elector of Hanover, he had also some disputes with his majesty of Sweden, of quite a different nature: for having purchased from the crown of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, which had been taken from the crown of Sweden, he found himself obliged, in quality of elector, to concur with the first-mentioned power, in declaring war against Sweden; and, even before this was done, some English ships joined the Danish fleet, in order to distress the Swedes. Of this, the Swedish minister here complained, by a memorial, in which he asserted, that the honour of the British flag had been prostituted to serve the interests of another state, and in order to create an intercourse between the king's regal and electoral dominions. The Dutch, though no less injured, no less

less concerned in their trade than we, did not, however, think it necessary to come to such extremities.

The Swedes had, at this time, a very numerous fleet, and in good condition; but they were too wise to hazard it against such an unequal force as that of the confederates; and, therefore, withdrew it into one of their own ports, till they could receive the king's absolute orders. On the 9th of November, the British men of war, from Dantzick, with the trade, joined Sir John Norris's squadron at Bornholm, and the next day came all with him into the road of Copenhagen. On the 12th, arrived the Dutch trade, with their convoy, which had been obliged to stay after ours at Dantzick, for provisions. A few days after, Sir John sailed from the road of Copenhagen; and, notwithstanding his fleet, as well as the merchantmen under his convoy, were surprized by a violent storm, which dispersed them, and in which the *August*, of sixty guns, and the *Garland* of twenty-four, were unfortunately lost; yet the rest, with all the trade, safely arrived at the Trow, on the 29th of November, in the morning. Sir John Norris left seven ships of war under the command of commodore Cleland, in the Baltic, to act in conjunction with the Danes, and for the further security of the British trade, if necessary.

During the time that this squadron was employed in the Baltic, the rebellion was extinguished in Scotland; but with so little assistance from our naval force, that it scarce deserves to be mentioned. The rebellion broke out under the influence and direction of the earl of Mar, who was soon joined by the clans; and the Duke of Argyll being sent down against him, it quickly appeared how ill their measures had been taken. His grace had, indeed, but a small number of regular troops under his command; but his interest was so extensive, that he not only engaged many powerful families to declare for king George, but, which perhaps



perhaps was the greater service of the two, engaged many more to remain quiet, who otherwise had joined the rebels. The business was decided by the battle of Sheriff Moore, near Dunblain, fought November 13, 1715, the same day that general Foster and the English, who were in arms, surrendered at Preston. Yet, after this, the Chevalier de St. George ventured over into Scotland, in a very poor vessel; where, soon finding his affairs desperate, and his person in the utmost danger, he contrived to make his escape from the north, with the utmost secrecy; which he effected, by going on board a clean tallow'd French snow, which sailed out of the harbour of Montrose, February the 3d, in sight of some English men of war, but kept so close along shore, that they soon found it was impossible to follow her.

We have already taken notice of what pass'd under Sir John Norris in the Baltic; and have, therefore, only to observe, that this year some of the piratical republics in Barbary having broke the peace, admiral Baker, who had the command of the English squadron in the Mediterranean, received orders to bring them to reason; which he did, without any great difficulty.

In 1718, the king of England had used some endeavours to compromise the difference between his imperial majesty and the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon. Mr. Stanhope had been sent to Madrid with a plan of pacification, which being rejected by Philip, as partial and iniquitous, the king determined to support his mediation by arms. Sir George Byng sailed from Spithead on the 4th day of June, with twenty ships of the line, two fire-ships, two bomb-vessels, and ample instructions how to act on all emergencies. He arrived off Cape St. Vincent on the 30th day of the month, when he dispatched his secretary to Cadiz with a letter to Colonel Stanhope the British minister at Madrid, desiring him to inform his most catholic majesty of the admiral's arrival in those

parts, and to lay before him his instructions : which, when cardinal Alberoni perused, he told colonel Stanhope with some warmth, that his master would run all hazards, and even suffer himself to be driven out of Spain, rather than recal his troops, or consent to a suspension of arms. He said the Spaniards were not to be frightened ; and he was so well convinced that the fleet would do their duty, that in case of their being attacked by admiral Byng, he should be in no pain for the success. This interposition could not but be very provoking to the Spanish minister, who had laid his account with the conquest of Sicily ; and for that purpose prepared an armament which was altogether surprising, considering the late shattered condition of the Spanish affairs. He seems to have put too much confidence in the strength of the Spanish fleet. In a few days he sent back the admiral's letter to Mr. Stanhope, with a note under it, importing, that the chevalier Byng might execute the orders he had received from the king his master.

The admiral, in passing by Gibraltar, was joined by vice-admiral Cornwall with two ships. He proceeded to Minorca, where he relieved the garrison of Portmahon. Then he sailed for Naples, where he arrived on the first day of August, and was received as a deliverer : for the Neapolitans had been under the utmost terror of an invasion from the Spaniards. Sir George Byng received intelligence from the viceroy count Daun, who treated him with the most distinguishing marks of respect, that the Spanish army, amounting to thirty thousand men, commanded by the marquis de Lede, had landed in Sicily, reduced Palermo and Messina, and were then employed in the siege of the citadel belonging to this last city : that the Piedmontese garrison would be obliged to surrender, if not speedily relieved : that an alliance was upon the carpet between the emperor and the king of Sicily, which last had desired the assistance of the imperial troops, and agreed to receive them into the citadel

tadel of Messina. The admiral immediately resolved to sail thither, and on the 9th of August was in sight of the Faro of Messina. He dispatched his own captain with a polite message to the marquis de Lede, proposing a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, that the powers of Europe might have time to concert measures for restoring a lasting peace. The Spanish general answered, that he had no powers to treat, consequently should obey his orders, which directed him to reduce Sicily for his master the king of Spain. The Spanish fleet had sailed from the harbour of Messina on the day before the English squadron appeared. In doubling the point of Faro, he descried two Spanish scouts, that led him to their main fleet, which before noon he descried in line of battle, amounting to 27 sail large and small, beside two fire-ships, four bomb-vessels, and seven gallies. At sight of the English squadron they stood away large, and Byng gave chase all the rest of the day. In the morning, which was the 11th of August, the rear-admiral de Mari, with six ships of war, the gallies, fire-ships, and bomb-ketches, separated from the main fleet, and stood in for the Sicilian shore. The English admiral detached captain Walton with five ships in pursuit of them; and they were soon engaged. He himself continued to chase their main fleet; and about ten o'clock the battle began. The Spaniards seemed to be distracted in their counsels, and acted in confusion. They made a running fight; and the admirals behaved with courage and activity, in spite of which they were all taken but Cammock, who made his escape with three ships of war and three frigates. In this engagement, which happened off Cape Passaro, captain Haddock of the Grafton signalized his courage in an extraordinary manner. On the 18th the admiral received a letter from captain Walton, dated off Syracuse, intimating that he had taken four Spanish ships of war, together with a bomb-ketch, and a vessel laden with arms; and that he had burn-

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ed four ships of the line, a fire-ship, and a bomb-vessel. This letter is justly deemed a curious specimen of the laconic style.—“ Sir, We have taken and destroyed all the Spanish ships and vessels which were upon the coast, the number as per margin. I am, &c.  
G. Walton.”

These ships that captain Walton thus thrust into his margin, would have furnished matter for some pages, in a French relation.

Admiral Byng continued to assist the imperialists in Sicily, during the best part of the winter, by scouring the seas of the Spaniards, and keeping the communication open between the German forces and the Calabrian shore, from whence they were supplied with provisions. He acted in this service with equal conduct, resolution, and activity. He conferred with the viceroy of Naples, and the other imperial generals, about the operations of the ensuing campaign; and count Hamilton was dispatched to Vienna, to lay before the emperor the result of their deliberations: then the admiral set sail for Mahon, where his ships might be refitted, and put in a condition to take the sea in the spring.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet was a subject that employed the deliberations and conjectures of all the politicians in Europe. Spain exclaimed against the conduct of England, as inconsistent with the rules of good faith, for the observation of which she had always been so famous. This was the language of disappointed ambition. Nevertheless, it must be owned, that the conduct of England on this occasion was rather irregular; and the Spaniards were not slow in expressing their resentments. On the 1st of September, rear-admiral Guevara, with some ships under his command, entered the port of Cadiz, and made himself master of all the English ships that were there; and, at the same time, all the effects of the English merchants were seized in Malaga, and other ports of Spain; which, as soon as it was known here, produced



duced reprisals on our part. But it is now time to leave the Mediterranean, and the affairs of Spain, in order to give an account of what passed in the northern seas.

There remains only one transaction more of this year, which a work of this kind requires to be mentioned; which is the account of the reduction of the pirates. Captain Woodes Rogers, having been appointed governor of the Bahama islands, sailed for Providence, which was to be the seat of his government, on the 11th of April; and after a short and easy passage, arriving there, he took possession of the town of Nassau, the fort belonging to it, and of the whole island; the people receiving him with all imaginable joy, and many of the pirates submitting immediately. Some of them, it is true, rejected, at first, all terms, and did a great deal of mischief on the coast of Carolina; but, when they saw that governor Rogers had thoroughly settled himself at Providence, and that the inhabitants of the Bahama islands found themselves obliged, through interest, to be honest, they began to doubt of their situation, and thought proper to go and beg that mercy which at first they refused; so that there were not above three or four vessels of those pirates who continued their trade, and two of them being taken, and their crews executed, the rest dispersed out of fear, and became thereby less terrible. Thus, in a short time, and chiefly through the steady and prudent conduct of governor Rogers, this herd of villains were in some measure dispersed, who for many years had frightened the West Indies, and the northern colonies.

On the 17th of December 1718, a declaration of war in form was published against the crown of Spain; as to the expediency of which, many bold things were said in the house of commons, especially with regard to the pretensions, and the intentions of those who made this war. The ministry, however, continued the pursuit of their own scheme, in spite of op-

position, and took such vigorous measures for obliging Spain to accept the terms assigned her by the quadruple alliance, that she lost all patience, and resolved to attempt any thing that might either free her from this necessity, or serve to express her resentments against such as endeavoured to impose it upon her: with this view she drew together a great number of transports at Cadiz and Corunna; but the Spanish fleet, designed for this expedition, consisting of five men of war, and about forty transports, having on board the late duke of Ormonde, and upward of 5000 men, met with a violent storm, which entirely dispersed them. Thus, this design of the Spaniards, whatever it was, became abortive.

It may be proper, in this place, to take notice, that we acted now in such close conjunction with France, that the regent declared war against his cousin the king of Spain; and though many people here suspected that this war would produce no great effects, it proved quite otherwise; for the marquis de Silly advanced in the month of April as far as Port Passage, where he found six men of war just finished, upon the stocks, all which, prompted thereto by colonel Stanhope, (afterward earl of Harrington) he burned, together with timber, masts, and naval stores, to the value of half a million sterling; which was a greater real loss to the Spaniards, than that they sustained by our beating their fleet. Soon after, the duke of Berwick besieged Fontarabia; both which actions shewed, that the French were actually in earnest.

While the Spaniards were pleasing themselves with chimerical notions of invasions it was impossible to effect against us, our admiral in the Mediterranean was distressing them effectually; he continued there until he had seen the islands of Sicily and Sardinia evacuated by the Spaniards, and the mutual cessions executed between the emperor and the duke of Savoy. In a word, admiral Byng bore such a considerable

derable share in this war of Sicily, that the fate of the island depended wholly upon his courage, vigilance, and conduct.

The king of England, with a view to indemnify himself for the expence of the war, projected the conquest of Corunna in Biscay, and of Peru in South America. Four thousand men, commanded by lord Cobham, were embarked at the Isle of Wight, and sailed on the 21st day of September, under convoy of five ships of war, conducted by admiral Mighels. Instead of making an attempt upon Corunna, they reduced Vigo with very little difficulty. The expedition to the West Indies was prevented by the peace. Spain being oppressed on all sides, and utterly exhausted, Philip saw the necessity of a speedy pacification. He was obliged at last to accede to the quadruple alliance.

The pirates in the West Indies, who had received some check from the vigorous dispositions of governor Rogers, and other commanders in those parts, began to take breath again, and by degrees grew so bold as even to annoy our colonies more than ever; owing to the encouragement they had met with of late from the Spaniards, and to the want of a sufficient force in the North American seas. There was among these pirates one Roberts, a man whose parts deserved a better employment; he was an able seaman, and a good commander, and had with him two very stout ships, to which he soon added a third. With this force, Roberts had done a great deal of mischief in the West Indies, before he sailed for Africa, where he likewise took abundance of prizes, till in the month of April 1722, he was taken by the then captain, afterward Sir Chaloner Ogle.

Captain Ogle was then in the Swallow, and was cruising off Cape Lopez, when he had intelligence of Roberts's being not far from him, and in consequence of this he went immediately in search of him, and soon after discovered the pirates in a very convenient bay,

bay, where the biggest and the least ship were upon the heel, scrubbing. Captain Ogle taking in his lower tier of guns, and lying at a distance, Roberts took him for a merchantman, and immediately ordered his consort to slip his cable, and run out after him. Captain Ogle crowded all the sail he could to decoy the pirate to such a distance, that his consorts might not hear the guns, and then suddenly tacked, run out his lower tier, and gave the pirate a broadside, by which their captain was killed: this so discouraged the crew, that after a brisk engagement, which lasted about an hour and a half, they surrendered. Captain Ogle returned then to the bay, hoisting the king's colours, under the pirates black flag with a death's head in it. This prudent stratagem had the desired effect; for the pirates, seeing the black flag uppermost, concluded the king's ship had been taken, and came out full of joy to congratulate their consort on the victory. This joy of theirs was, however, of no long continuance, for captain Ogle gave them a very warm reception; and though Roberts fought with the utmost bravery, for near two hours, yet being at last killed, the courage of his men immediately sunk, and both ships yielded.

Peace affords no events of importance for naval history; we therefore pass on to the death of king George I. which happened at his brother's palace, in the city of Osnaburg, June the 11th, 1727, in the thirteenth year of his reign, and in the sixty-eighth of his life. He was very well acquainted with the general interest of all the princes in Europe, and particularly well versed in whatever related to German affairs. He was allowed by the best judges of military skill, to be an excellent officer; was very capable of application, and understood business as well as any prince of his time.



A LIST of the ENGLISH NAVY, as it stood  
at the Accession of GEORGE II.

Rates.	N <sup>o</sup> of Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Swivels.
I.	7	5,460	700	
II.	13	8,840	1,170	
III.	16	8,320	1,280	
	24	10,568	1,680	
IV.	24	37,600	1,440	
	40	17,200	2,000	
V.	24	4,800	960	
	1	155	30	
VI.	1	140	22	
	28	3,580	560	
Fire-ships	3	155	24	
Bombs	3	120	16	16
Store-ship	1	90	20	
Sloops	15	990	78	78
Yachts	7	260	64	
Ditto, small	5	29	26	6
Hoys	11	87	12	2
Smacks	2	4		
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Total	225	98,398	10,082	

After the accession of king George II. notwithstanding the seeming pacific disposition of the court of Spain in Europe, and their engagements lately entered into, there was great reason to suspect, that their governors in the West Indies had secret instructions to carry on a depredatory war: for no sooner were our men of war called off from action in those seas, than our merchants severely felt the effects of a perfidious treaty; and every ship from our colonies and islands, brought fresh subject of complaint, concerning their depredations on our trade, and their cruelties to our sailors. Also in Europe, from the lessening of our naval force in the Mediterranean, the Sallee rovers were encouraged to infest our navigation in the

Streights and Western ocean. Upon all this the parliament, which met on the 22d of January, agreed to employ 15,000 seamen, at four pounds a man per month, for thirteen months, for the current year ; and also voted 206,025 pounds, for the ordinary of the navy during the same time.

The house of commons having examined the accounts of the Spanish depredations, came to the following resolution ; That ever since the peace of Utrecht, concluded in 1713, to this time, the British trade and navigation to and from the several colonies in America, had been greatly interrupted by the continual depredations of the Spaniards ; in manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns. In consequence of which resolution, it was further unanimously resolved, that an humble address be presented to his majesty, to desire he would be graciously pleased to use his utmost endeavours to prevent such depredations, to procure just and reasonable satisfaction for the losses sustained ; and to secure to his subjects the free exercise of commerce and navigation, to and from the British colonies in America. The consequence was, an order for putting 27 ships in commission ; which joined to a Dutch squadron, were intended to act in conjunction under Sir Charles Wager.

This confederate fleet of the English and Dutch at Spithead, raised expectations in the public, who now imagined that some bold stroke was intended in favour of our merchants. But after spending above three months in a pompous parade, the Dutch sailed homeward ; and twelve of our largest ships were ordered to be laid up. This fleet, however, it is generally thought, accelerated the signing of the convention, and also the dispatching those orders which were carried to Cuba, by the new governor of that island ; by virtue of which, he imprisoned his predecessor, and even laid him in irons ; at the same time declaring, that his instructions were to live in amity with the English. But all this, as appeared by the  
confe-

consequences, proved no more than grimace; for the *guarda costas* continued their former depredations.

After the conclusion of the peace with Spain, Great Britain was drawn into an agreement, to carry Don Carlos, infant of Spain, and with the consent of the court of Vienna, to place him on the throne of Naples: notwithstanding which, every ship from the W. Indies brought an account of a continued series of Spanish depredations and cruelties; a shocking instance of the latter, not to mention others, was the inhuman treatment of Robert Jenkins, master of the *Rebecca*, whose ear they cut off, and, at the same time, delivered it into his hands, insolently telling him to carry that present home to his master. Notwithstanding the pacific disposition of the British ministry at that time, the popular clamours rose very high on these and other acts of violence committed by the Spaniards; which year after year grew so violent, that the British ministry was no longer able to stem the current of national resentment shewn by the daily petitions brought up from all parts of the kingdom, calling aloud for satisfaction from Spain. His majesty issued a proclamation on the 10th of July, 1739, setting forth the Spanish depredations, the expiration of the term limited for the payment of 95,000 pounds compensation, and on the non-payment of it, thereby authorizing general reprisals and letters of marque against the ships, goods, and subjects of the king of Spain.

These orders, under his majesty's sign manual, dated June the 15th, had been dispatched above a month before their publication in London, to commodore Brown, who then commanded a squadron at Jamaica; in order to have an opportunity of making the best use of them, before the Spaniards had notice of our designs, and consequently prepared against them. The commodore published these orders on the 8th of August. In the mean time the British ministry now foreseeing that a war with Spain could no longer be avoided, the first thing they did, was to form a

resolution of endeavouring to preclude the Spaniards from the resources of their wealth in the West Indies and the South Seas.

With this view two squadrons were immediately ordered to be got ready with all expedition, the one to be put under the command of George Anson, Esq; who was then captain of his majesty's ship the *Centurion*, and the other under that of captain Cornwall. The particulars of Anson's voyage to the South Seas, are to be found in the third volume of this collection.

Notwithstanding these preparations of war, Mr. Keene, the British minister at Madrid, declared to the court of Spain, that his master, although he had permitted his subjects to make reprisals, would not be understood to have broken the peace; and, that this permission would be recalled as soon as his catholic majesty should be disposed to make the satisfaction which had been so justly demanded. He was given to understand, that the king of Spain looked upon those reprisals as acts of hostility; and that he hoped, with the assistance of heaven and his allies, he should be able to support a good cause against his adversaries. He published a manifesto in justification of his own conduct. The French ambassador at the Hague declared, that the king his master was obliged by treaties to assist his catholic majesty by sea and land, in case he should be attacked; he dissuaded the states-general from espousing the quarrel of Great Britain; and they assured him they would observe a strict neutrality, though they could not avoid furnishing his Britannic majesty with such succours as he could demand, by virtue of the treaties subsisting between the two powers. The people of England were inspired with uncommon alacrity at the near prospect of war, for which they had so long clamoured; and the ministry seeing it unavoidable, began to be earnest and effectual in their preparations.

The great view of the nation now being to distress the Spaniards, another squadron was ordered to be fitted



fitted out for the West Indies, and the command of it given to Edward Vernon, Esq; then just made vice admiral of the blue, who, on account of the eminent services he had formerly done his king and country in that part of the world, was looked on by all as the most proper person to be intrusted with so important an enterprize. He had withdrawn from employment, and on several accounts, had been disgusted at the conduct of the ministry; yet upon the first application made to him to undertake the command of a squadron for the service of his country, he immediately laid aside all private animosity, and sacrificing all other considerations to the welfare of the public, very chearfully obeyed the summons, desiring only a few days to settle his family affairs. He was counted a good officer, and his boisterous manner seemed to enhance his character. As he had once commanded a squadron in Jamaica, he was perfectly well acquainted with those seas; and in a debate upon the Spanish depredations, he chanced to affirm, that Porto Bello on the Spanish main might be easily taken: nay, he even undertook to reduce it with six ships only. This offer was echoed from the mouths of all the members in the opposition. Vernon was extolled as another Drake or Raleigh: he became the idol of a party, and his praise resounded from all corners of the kingdom. The minister, in order to appease the clamours of the people on this subject, sent him as commander in chief to the West Indies. He was pleased with an opportunity to remove such a troublesome censurer from the house of commons; and perhaps, he was not without hope, that Vernon would disgrace himself and his party, by failing in the exploit he had undertaken. His catholic majesty having ordered all the British ships in his harbours to be seized and detained, the king of England would keep measures with him no longer, but denounced war against him on the 23d day of October, 1739. Many English merchants began to equip privateers,  
and

and arm their trading vessels, to protect their own commerce as well as to distress that of the enemy.

On the 13th of March, 1740, a ship arrived from the West Indies, dispatched by admiral Vernon, with an account of his having taken Porto Bello, on the isthmus of Darien, and demolished all the fortifications of the place. The Spaniards acted with such pusillanimity on this occasion, that their forts were taken almost without bloodshed. And though the admiral was not able to push his conquests further up the country, yet the national advantage arising from what he had already done was very considerable: particularly as the traders of Jamaica had now a fair opportunity of opening an extensive commerce with the Spaniards, who were fond of clandestinely conveying their money from Panama over the isthmus.

Sir Chaloner Ogle arrived at Jamaica on the 9th day of Jan. 1741; and admiral Vernon did not sail on his intended expedition to Carthagena, till toward the end of the month. He resolved to beat up against the wind to Hispaniola, in order to observe the motion of the French squadron, commanded by the marquis d'Antin: but the French admiral had sailed for Europe in great distress, for want of men and provisions, which he could not procure in the West Indies. Admiral Vernon, thus disappointed, set sail for the continent of New Spain, and on the 4th of March anchored in Playa Grande, to the windward of Carthagena. There they lay inactive till the 9th, when the troops were landed on the island of Tierra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of Boca-chica, or Little-mouth, which was surprisingly fortified with castles, batteries, bombs, chains, cables, and ships of war. The British forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the admiral sent in a number of ships to divide the fire of the enemy, and co-operate with the endeavours of the army. Lord Aubrey Beauclerc, a gallant officer, who commanded  
one

one of these ships, was slain on this occasion. The breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the attack: but the forts and batteries were abandoned; the Spanish ships that lay athwart the harbour's mouth were destroyed or taken; the passage was opened, and the fleet entered without further opposition. Then the forces were reembarked with the artillery, and landed within a mile of Carthagena, where they were opposed by about 700 Spaniards, whom they obliged to retire. The admiral and general had contracted a hearty contempt for each other, and took all opportunities of expressing their mutual dislike: far from acting vigorously in concert, each appeared more eager for the disgrace of his rival, than zealous for the honour of the nation: and this contributed in great measure to the ruin of the enterprize.

The forces mistook their rout, and advanced to the strongest part of the fortification, where they were moreover exposed to the fire of the town. Their number was so much reduced, that they could no longer maintain their footing on shore: beside, the rainy season had begun with such violence, as rendered it impossible for them to live in camp. They were therefore reembarked; and all hope of further success immediately vanished.

The miscarriage of this expedition, which had cost the nation an immense sum of money, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent; and the people were depressed, in proportion to that sanguine hope by which they had been elevated. Admiral Vernon, instead of undertaking any enterprize which might have retrieved the honour of the British arms, set sail from Jamaica with the forces in July, and anchored at the south-east part of Cuba, in a bay, on which he bestowed the appellation of Cumberland harbour. The troops were landed, and encamped at the distance of twenty miles farther up the river, where

where they remained totally inactive, and subsisted chiefly on salt and damaged provisions, till the month of November; when, being considerably diminished by sickness, they were put on board again, and re-conveyed to Jamaica. He was afterward reinforced from England by four ships of war, and about 3000 soldiers; but he performed nothing worthy of the reputation he had acquired.

While admiral Haddock, with twelve ships of the line, lay at anchor in the bay of Gibraltar, the Spanish fleet passed the Streights in the night, and was joined by the French squadron from Toulon. The British admiral sailing from Gibraltar, fell in with them in a few days, and found both squadrons drawn up in line of battle. As he bore down upon the Spanish fleet, the French admiral sent a flag of truce to inform him, that as the French and Spaniards were engaged in a joint expedition, he should be obliged to act in concert with his master's allies. This interposition prevented an engagement, the combined fleets amounting to double the number of the English squadron. Admiral Haddock was obliged to desist; and proceeded to Portmahon, leaving the enemy to prosecute their voyage without molestation. The people of England were incensed at this transaction, and did not scruple to affirm, that the hands of the British admiral were tied up by the neutrality of Hanover.

The court of Madrid seemed to have shaken off that indolence and phlegm which had formerly disgraced the councils of Spain. They no sooner learned the destination of commodore Anson, who had sailed from Spithead in the course of the preceding year, than they sent Don Pizarro, with a more powerful squadron upon the same voyage to defeat his design. Their privateers were so industrious and successful, that in the beginning of this year, they had taken, since the commencement of the war, 407 ships, belonging to the subjects of Great Britain, and valued

at



at near four millions of piaſters. The traders had therefore too much cauſe to complain, conſidering the formidable fleets which were maintained for the protection of commerce. In the courſe of the ſummer, Sir John Norris had twice ſailed toward the coaſt of Spain, at the head of a powerful ſquadron, without taking any effectual ſtep for annoying the enemy; as if the ſole intention of the miniſtry had been to expoſe the nation to the ridicule and contempt of its enemies. The inactivity of the Britiſh arms appears the more inexcusable, when we conſider the great armaments which had been prepared. The land-forces of Great Britain, excluſive of Daniſh and Heſſian auxiliaries, amounted to 60,000 men; and the fleet conſiſted of above 100 ſhips of war, manned by 54,000 failors.

The new miniſtry in England (1742) had ſent out admiral Matthews to aſſume the command of this ſquadron, which had been for ſome time conducted by Leſtock, an inferior officer, as Haddock had been obliged to reſign his commiſſion on account of his ill ſtate of health. Matthews was likewise inveſted with the character of miniſter plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia and the ſtates of Italy. Immediately after he had taken poſſeſſion of his command, he ordered captain Norris to deſtroy five Spaniſh gallies which had put into the bay of St. Tropez; and this ſervice was effectually performed. In May he detached commodore Rowley with eight ſail, to cruise off the harbour of Toulon; and a great number of merchant-ſhips belonging to the enemy fell into his hands. In Auguſt he ſent commodore Martin with another ſquadron into the bay of Naples, to bombard that city, unleſs his Sicilian majeſty would immediately recal his troops which had joined the Spaniſh army, and promiſe to remain neuter during the continuance of the war. Naples was immediately filled with conſternation: the king ſubſcribed to theſe conditions; and the Engliſh ſquadron rejoined the admiral in the road

of Hieres, which he had chosen for his winter-station. But before this period he had landed some men at St. Remo, in the territories of Genoa, and destroyed the magazines that were erected for the use of the Spanish army. He had likewise ordered two of his cruisers to attack a Spanish ship of the line, which lay at anchor in the port of Ajaccio, in the island of Corsica; but, the Spanish captain set his men on shore, and blew up his ship, rather than she should fall into the hands of the English.

In the course of this year admiral Vernon and general Wentworth made another effort in the West Indies. They had received, in January, a reinforcement from England, and planned a new expedition. Their design was to disembark the troops at Porto-Bello, and march across the isthmus of Darien, to attack the rich town of Panama. They sailed from Jamaica on the 9th day of March, and on the 28th arrived at Porto-Bello. There they held a council of war, in which it was resolved, that as the troops were sickly, the rainy season begun, and several transports not yet arrived, the intended expedition was become impracticable. In pursuance of this determination, the armament immediately returned to Jamaica, exhibiting a ridiculous spectacle of folly and irresolution. Vernon and Wentworth received orders to return to England, with such troops as remained alive; and these did not amount to a tenth part of the number which had been sent abroad in that inglorious service.

In England the merchants still complained, that their commerce was not properly protected; and the people clamoured against the conduct of the war. They said, their burdens were increased to maintain quarrels with which they had no concern; to defray the enormous expence of inactive fleets and pacific armies. The lord C. had now insinuated himself into the confidence of his sovereign, and engrossed the whole direction of public affairs. The war with Spain was now become a secondary consideration, and neglected accordingly; while

while the chief attention of the new minister was turned upon the affairs of the continent.

The British fleet commanded by admiral Matthews overawed all the states that bordered on the Mediterranean. About the end of June, 1743, understanding that 14 xebecks, loaded with artillery and ammunition for the Spanish army, had arrived at Genoa, he sailed thither from the road of Hieres, and demanded of the republic, that they would either oblige these vessels with the stores to quit their harbour, or sequester their loadings until a general peace should be established. After some dispute, it was agreed, that the cannon and stores should be deposited in the castle of Bonifacio, situated on a rock at the south end of Corsica: and, that the xebecks should have leave to retire without molestation. Admiral Matthews, though he did not undertake any expedition of importance against the maritime towns of Spain, continued to assert the British empire at sea through the whole extent of the Mediterranean. The Spanish army under Don Philip was no sooner in motion, than the English admiral ordered some troops and cannon to be disembarked for the security of Villa-Franca; stores having been landed at Civita-Vecchia for the use of the Spanish forces under count Gages, Matthews interpreted this transaction into a violation of the neutrality which the pope had professed, and sent thither a squadron to bombard the place. The city of Rome was filled with consternation; and the pope had recourse to the good offices of his Sardinian majesty, in consequence of which the English squadron was ordered to withdraw. The captains of single cruising ships, by their activity and vigilance, wholly interrupted the commerce of Spain; cannonaded and burnt some towns on the sea-side, and kept the whole coast in continual alarm.

In the West Indies some unsuccessful efforts were made by an English squadron, commanded by commodore Knowles. He attacked La Gueira, on the

coast of Carraccas, in the month of February; but met with such a warm reception, that he was obliged to desist, and make the best of his way for the Dutch island Curaçoa, where he repaired the damage he had sustained. His ships being refitted, he made another attempt upon Porto-Cavallo in April, which, like the former, miscarried.

By the parliamentary disputes, the loud clamours, and general dissatisfaction of the people of Great Britain, the French ministry were persuaded, that the nation was ripe for revolt. This belief was corroborated by the assertions of their emissaries in different parts of Great Britain and Ireland. They gave the court of Versailles to understand, that if the chevalier de St. George, or his eldest son Charles-Edward, should appear at the head of a French army in Great Britain, a revolution would instantly follow in his favour. This intimation was agreeable to cardinal de Tencin, who had succeeded Fleury, as prime minister of France. He was of a violent enterprising temper. He had been recommended to the purple, by the chevalier de St. George, and was warmly attached to the Stuart family. His ambition was flattered with a prospect of giving a king to Great Britain; of and performing such eminent service to his benefactor, in restoring him to the throne of his ancestors. He foresaw, that even if his aim should miscarry, a descent upon Great Britain would make a considerable diversion from the continent in favour of France, and embroil and embarrass his Britannic majesty, who was the chief support of the house of Austria and all its allies. Actuated by these motives, he concerted measures with the chevalier de St. George at Rome; who being too much advanced in years to engage personally in such an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretensions and authority to his son Charles. Count Saxe was appointed by the French king commander of the troops designed for this expedition, which amounted to 15,000. Charles departed from Rome



Rome about the end of December, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, attended by one servant only : and prosecuting his journey to Paris, was indulged with a private audience of the French king. The British ministry being apprised of his arrival in France, at once comprehended the destination of the armaments prepared at Brest and Boulogne. Mr. Thomson, the English resident at Paris, received orders to make a remonstrance to the French ministry, on the violation of those treaties by which the pretender to the crown of Great Britain was excluded from the territories of France. But he was given to understand, that his most christian majesty would not explain himself on that subject, until the king of England should have given satisfaction on the repeated complaints which had been made to him, touching the infractions of those treaties which had been so often-violated by his orders.

In the month of January, M. de Roquefeuille sailed from Brest, directing his course up the English channel, with twenty ships of war. Sir John Norris was forthwith ordered to take the command of the squadron at Spithead, with which he sailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by some ships of the line from Chatham, and then he found himself at the head of a squadron considerably stronger than that of the enemy.

Several regiments marched to the southern coast of England: all governors and commanders were ordered to repair immediately to their respective posts: the forts at the mouth of the Thames and the Medway were put in a posture of defence. A proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against papists and nonjurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London; and every precaution taken which seemed necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

Mean while the French court proceeded with their preparations, at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the

eye of the younger pretender ; and 7000 men were actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille sailed up the channel as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, after having detached M. de Barreil with five ships, to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk. While the French admiral anchored off Dungeness, he perceived, on the 24th day of February, the British fleet under Sir John Norris, doubling the South-Foreland from the Downs ; and, though the wind was against him, taking the opportunity of the tide to come up and engage the French squadron. Roquefeuille, who little expected such a visit, could not be altogether composed, considering the great superiority of his enemies ; but the tide failing, the English admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues short of the enemy. In this interval, M. Roquefeuille called a council of war ; in which it was determined to avoid an engagement, to weigh anchor at sunset, and make the best of their way to the place from whence they had set sail. This resolution was favoured by a very hard gale of wind, which began to blow from the north-east, and carried them down the channel with incredible expedition. But the same storm which, in all probability, saved their fleet from destruction, utterly disconcerted the design of invading England. A great number of their transports was driven ashore and destroyed, and the rest so much damaged that they could not be speedily repaired.

The English were now masters at sea, and their coast was so well guarded, that the enterprise could not be prosecuted with any probability of success. The French generals nominated to serve in this expedition returned to Paris, and the pretender resolved to wait a more favourable opportunity. The French king no longer preserved any measures with the court of London : the British resident at Paris was given to understand, that a declaration of war must ensue ; and this was actually published on the 20th day of

March, 1744. The king of Great Britain was taxed with having dissuaded the court of Vienna from entertaining any thoughts of an accommodation; with having infringed the convention of Hanover; with having exercised piracy upon the subjects of France, and even with blocking up the harbour of Toulon. On the 31st of March, a like denunciation of war against France was published at London, amidst the acclamations of the people.

An action happened in the Mediterranean between the British fleet, commanded by admiral Matthews, and the combined squadrons of France and Spain, which had been for some time blocked up in the harbour of Toulon. On the 9th day of February, 1744, they were perceived standing out of the road, to the number of 34 sail: the English admiral immediately weighed from Hières-bay; and on the 11th, part of the fleets engaged. Matthews attacked the Spanish admiral, Don Navarro, whose ship, the *Real*, was a first rate, mounted with above 100 guns. The rear-admiral Rowley singled out M. de Court, who commanded the French squadron; and a very few captains followed the example of their commanders: but vice-admiral Lestock, with his whole division, remained at a great distance astern; and several captains, that were immediately under the eye of Matthews, behaved in such a manner as reflected disgrace upon their country.

The whole transaction was conducted without order or deliberation. The French and Spaniards would have willingly avoided an engagement, as the British squadron was superior to them in strength and number. M. de Court therefore made the best of his way toward the Streights mouth, probably with intention to join the Brest squadron: but he had orders to protect the Spanish fleet; and as they sailed heavily, he was obliged to wait for them, at the hazard of maintaining a battle with the English. Thus circumstanced, he made sail and lay to by turns; so that

the British admiral could not engage them in proper order; and as they out-sailed his ships, he began to fear they would escape him altogether should he wait for vice-admiral Lestock, who was so far astern. Under this apprehension, he made the signal for engaging, while that for the line of battle was still displayed; and this inconsistency naturally introduced confusion. The fight was maintained by the few who engaged, with great vivacity. The *Real* being quite disabled, and lying like a wreck upon the water, Mr. Matthews sent a fireship to destroy her; but the expedient did not take effect. The ship ordered to cover this machine, did not obey the signal; so that the captain of the fireship was exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Nevertheless, he continued to advance until he found the vessel sinking; and being within a few yards of the *Real*, he set fire to the fusees. The ship was immediately in flames, in the midst of which, he and his lieutenant, with twelve men, perished. This was likewise the fate of a Spanish launch, which had been manned with fifty sailors to prevent the fireship from running on board the *Real*. One ship of the line, belonging to the Spanish squadron, struck to captain Hawke, who sent a lieutenant to take possession of her; she was afterward retaken by the French squadron; but was found so disabled, that they left her deserted, and she was next day burned by order of admiral Matthews.

At night, the action ceased; and the admiral found his own ship so much damaged, that he moved his flag into another. Captain Cornwall fell in the engagement, after having exhibited a remarkable proof of courage and intrepidity: but, the loss of men was very inconsiderable. Next day the enemy appeared to leeward, and the admiral gave chase till night, when he brought to, that he might be joined by the ships a-stern. They were perceived again on the 13th at a considerable distance, and pursued till the evening. In the morning of the 14th, 20 sail of  
them



them were seen distinctly, and Lestock with his division had gained ground of them considerably, by noon; but admiral Matthews displayed the signal for leaving off chace, and bore away for Port-mahon, to repair the damage he had sustained. Mean while, the combined squadrons continued their course toward the coast of Spain.

Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, accused Lestock of having misbehaved on the day of action; suspended him from his office, and sent him prisoner to England; where, in his turn, he accused his accuser. Long before the engagement, these two officers had expressed the most virulent resentment against each other. Matthews was brave, open, and undisguised; but proud, imperious, and precipitate. Lestock had signalized his courage on many occasions, and perfectly understood the whole discipline of the navy; but he was cool, and vindictive. He had been treated superciliously by Matthews, and in revenge took advantage of his errors and precipitation. To gratify this passion, he betrayed the interest and glory of his country; for, it is not to be doubted, but that he might have come up in time to engage; and in that case, the fleets of France and Spain would in all likelihood have been destroyed: but he intrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline, and saw with pleasure his antagonist expose himself to the hazard of death, ruin, and disgrace. Matthews himself, in the sequel, sacrificed his duty to his resentment, in restraining Lestock from pursuing and attacking the combined squadrons on the third day after the engagement, when they appeared disabled and in manifest disorder, and would have fallen an easy prey, had they been vigorously attacked. One can hardly, without indignation, reflect upon those instances, in which a community has so severely suffered from the personal animosity of individuals. The miscarriage off Toulon became the subject of a parliamentary enquiry in England.

A court-martial was constituted, and proceeded to trial. Several commanders of ships were cashiered : vice-admiral Lestock was honourably acquitted, and admiral Matthews rendered incapable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy. All the world knew that Lestock kept aloof, and that Matthews rushed into the hottest part of the engagement : yet, the former triumphed on his trial, and the latter narrowly escaped sentence of death for cowardice and misconduct. Such decisions are not to be accounted for, except from prejudice and faction.

After the action at Toulon, nothing of consequence was achieved by the British squadron in the Mediterranean ; and indeed the naval power of Great Britain was, during the summer, quite inactive. In the month of June, commodore Anson returned from his voyage of three years and nine months, in which he had surrounded the terraqueous globe. Though this fortunate commander enriched himself by an occurrence that may be termed almost accidental, the British nation was not indemnified for the expence of the expedition, and the original design was entirely defeated. Had the Manilla ship escaped the vigilance of the English commodore, he might have been, at his return to England, laid aside as a superannuated captain, and died in obscurity : but his great wealth invested him with considerable influence, and added lustre to his talents. He soon became the oracle which was consulted in all naval deliberations : and the king raised him to the dignity of a peerage.

In July, Sir John Balchen, an admiral of approved valour and great experience, sailed from Spithead with a strong squadron, in quest of an opportunity to attack the French fleet at Brest, under the command of M. de Rochambault. In the bay of Biscay, he was overtaken by a violent storm, that dispersed the ships, and drove them up the English channel. Admiral Stewart, with the greater part of them, arrived at Plymouth ; but Sir John Balchen's own ship, the Victory, which  
was

was counted the most beautiful first rate in the world, foundered at sea ; and this brave commander perished with all his officers, volunteers, and crew, amounting to 1100 choice seamen.

The naval transactions of Great Britain were in the year 1745 remarkably spirited. In the Mediterranean, admiral Rowley had succeeded Matthews in the command ; and Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, with Bastia the capital of Corsica, were bombarded : several Spanish ships were taken ; but he could not prevent the safe arrival of their rich Havannah squadron at Corunna. Commodore Barnet in the West Indies made prize of several French ships richly laden ; and commodore Townshend, in the latitude of Martinico, took about 30 merchant-ships belonging to the enemy, under convoy of four ships of war, two of which were destroyed. The English privateers likewise met with uncommon success. But the most important achievement was the conquest of Louisburgh, on the island of Cape-Breton, in North America ; a place of great consequence, which the French had fortified at a prodigious expence. The scheme of reducing this fortress was planned in Boston, recommended by their general-assembly, and approved by his majesty ; who sent instructions to commodore Warren, stationed off the Leeward Islands, to sail for the northern parts of America, and to co-operate with the forces of New England in this expedition. A body of 6000 men was formed under the conduct of Mr. Pepperel, a trader of Piscataway, whose influence was extensive in that country ; though he was a man of little or no education, and utterly unacquainted with military operations. In April, Mr. Warren arrived at Canso with ten ships of war ; and the troops of New England being embarked in transports, sailed immediately for the isle of Cape-Breton, where they landed without opposition. The enemy abandoned their grand battery, which was detached from the town ; and the immediate seizure of it con-

tributed in a good measure to the success of the enterprise. While the American troops, reinforced by 800 marines, carried on their approaches by land, the squadron blocked up the place by sea in such a manner, that no succours could be introduced. A French ship of the line, with some smaller vessels, destined for the relief of the garrison, were intercepted and taken by the British cruisers; and indeed, the reduction of Louisburgh was chiefly owing to the vigilance and activity of Mr. Warren, one of the bravest and best officers in the service of England. The operations of the siege were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers who commanded the British marines; and the Americans, being ignorant of war, were contented to act under their directions. The town being considerably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the besiegers, and the governor despairing of relief, capitulated on the 17th day of June. The garrison and inhabitants engaged, that they would not bear arms for twelve months against Great Britain or her allies; and were transported to Rochfort. In a few days after the surrender of Louisburgh, two French East India ships, and another from Peru laden with treasure, sailed into the harbour, on the supposition that it still belonged to France; and were taken by the English squadron\*.

The possession of Cape-Breton was, doubtless, a valuable acquisition to Great Britain. It not only distressed the French in their fishery and navigation, but removed all fears of encroachment and rivalry from the English fishers on the banks of Newfoundland. It freed New England from the terrors of a dangerous neighbour; over-awed the Indians of that country; and secured the possession of Acadia to the crown of Great Britain. The natives of New England acquired great glory from the success of this enterprise. Britain, which had in some instances behaved like a stepmother to her own colonies, was now convinced

\* See Ulloa's Voyage, in our first volume, p. 484.



of their importance; and treated those as brethren whom she had too long considered as aliens and rivals. Circumstanced as the nation is, the legislature cannot too tenderly cherish the interests of the British plantations in America. They are inhabited by a brave, hardy, industrious people, animated with an active spirit of commerce; inspired with a noble zeal for liberty and independence.

While the continent of Europe and the isles of America were exposed to the ravages of war, Great Britain underwent a dangerous convulsion in her own bowels. The son of the chevalier de St. George resolved to make another effort, which, though it might not be crowned with success, should at least astonish all Christendom. He was amused with the promise of powerful succours from France, though the ministry of that kingdom were never hearty in his cause: nevertheless they foresaw, that his appearance in England would embarrass the government, and make a considerable diversion in their favour. Certain it is, that if he had been properly supported, he could not have found a more favourable opportunity of exciting an intestine commotion in Great Britain; for Scotland was quite unfurnished with troops, and the king was in Germany.

The young pretender accordingly embarked on board a frigate at Port Lazare in Brittany, and sailed for Scotland on the 14th of July, 1745. The frigate was joined off Belleisle by the Elizabeth, a French man of war of sixty guns, which the ministry had fitted out to convoy him in this expedition. As his design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the north-west of Scotland, the ships steered for the southern coast of the former; but in their passage were met by the Lion man of war, commanded by captain Brett, which, after a long engagement, so effectually disabled the Elizabeth, that she was obliged to return to Brest. The frigate escaped, and continued her course with such expedition, that on the 23d of July, the

the young pretender found himself in the western isles of Scotland, where he continued cruising till the 26th between the islands of Bara and South Vist; but finding there was no hopes of being joined by the Elizabeth, the frigate stood in for the coast of Lochaber, one of the maritime counties on the north-west of Scotland, inhabited principally by papists; and on the 27th of July, landed the young pretender and his companions at Moidart, between the islands of Sky and Mull.

We shall not follow this young adventurer, as the subject is very foreign to a naval history; it being sufficient to observe, that his party was totally defeated by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland at Culloden, on the 16th of April, 1746, which put an end to this rebellion.

During these transactions, our ministry seemed determined to make an attempt on Quebec; and a large squadron was accordingly assembled at Portsmouth, and several regiments, under the command of lieutenant-general Sinclair, embarked: but after many delays, the expedition to Quebec was laid aside, and the fleet sailed to the coast of Brittany, and landed the troops in Quimperlay-bay, near Port l'Orient, which they besieged: but when the city was just going to surrender, they retreated in the night with the greatest precipitation, leaving behind them a mortar, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and stores. The Exeter man of war however engaged the Ardent, a 64 gun ship, forced her ashore and burnt her.

The French king, baffled in his projects upon Italy, in 1747, was not more fortunate in his naval operations. He had, in the preceding year, equipped an expensive armament, under the command of the duke d'Anville, for the recovery of Cape-Breton; but it was rendered ineffectual by storms, distempers, and the death of the commander. Not yet discouraged by these disasters, he resolved to renew his efforts against  
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the British colonies in North America, and their settlements in the East Indies. For these purposes two squadrons were prepared at Brest; one to be commanded by the commodore de la Jonquiere, and the other, destined for India, by monsieur de St. George. The ministry of Great Britain, being apprized of these measures, resolved to intercept both squadrons, which were to set sail together. For this purpose vice-admiral Anson and rear-admiral Warren took their departure from Plymouth with a formidable fleet, and steered their course to Cape Finisterre on the coast of Galicia.

On the 3d day of May, they fell in with the French squadrons, commanded by la Jonquiere and St. George, consisting of six large ships of war, as many frigates, and four armed vessels equipped by their East India company, having under their convoy about thirty ships laden with merchandize. Those prepared for war immediately shortened sail, and formed a line of battle; while the rest, under the protection of the six frigates, proceeded on their voyage with all the sail they could carry. The British squadron was likewise drawn up in a line of battle: but Mr. Warren perceiving that the enemy began to sheer off, now their convoy was at a considerable distance, advised admiral Anson to haul in the signal for the line, and hoist another for giving chase and engaging, otherwise the French would in all probability escape by favour of the night. The proposal was embraced: and in a little time the engagement began with great fury, about four o'clock in the afternoon. The enemy sustained the battle with equal conduct and valour, until they were overpowered by numbers, and then they struck their colours. The admiral detached three ships in pursuit of the convoy, nine sail of which were taken; but the rest were saved by the intervening darkness. About seven hundred of the French were killed and wounded in this action. The English lost about five hundred; and among these,  
captain

captain Grenville, commander of the ship *Defiance*. The success of the British arms, in this engagement, was chiefly owing to the conduct, activity, and courage of the rear-admiral. A considerable quantity of bullion was found in the prizes, which were brought to Spithead in triumph; and the treasure being landed, was conveyed in twenty waggons to the bank of London. Admiral Anson was ennobled, and Mr. Warren honoured with the order of the Bath.

About the middle of June, commodore Fox, with six ships of war, cruising in the latitude of Cape Ortegal in Galicia, took about forty French ships, richly laden from St. Domingo, after they had been abandoned by their convoy. But the French king sustained another more important loss at sea, in the month of October. Rear-admiral Hawke sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of August, with 14 ships of the line, to intercept a fleet of French merchant-ships bound for the West Indies. He cruised for some time on the coast of Bretagne; and at length, the French fleet sailed from the isle of Aix, under convoy of nine ships of the line, beside frigates, commanded by monsieur de Letenduer. On the 14th day of October, the two squadrons were in sight of each other, in the latitude of Belleisle. The French commodore immediately ordered one of his great ships and the frigates to proceed with the trading ships, while he formed the line of battle, and waited the attack. At eleven in the forenoon, admiral Hawke displayed the signal to chase, and in half an hour both fleets were engaged. The battle lasted till night, when all the French squadron, except the *Intrepid* and *Tonant*, had struck to the English flag. These two capital ships escaped in the dark, and returned to Brest in a shattered condition. The French captains sustained the unequal fight with uncommon bravery and resolution, and did not yield until their ships were disabled. Their loss in men amounted to 800: the number of English killed in this engagement



ment did not exceed 200, including captain Saumarez, a gallant officer, who had served under lord Anson in his expedition to the Pacific Ocean. Indeed, it must be owned, for the honour of that nobleman, that all the officers formed under his example, and raised by his influence, approved themselves in all respects worthy of the commands to which they were preferred. Immediately after the action, admiral Hawke dispatched a sloop to commodore Legge, whose squadron was stationed at the Leeward Islands, with intelligence of the French fleet of merchant-ships, outward-bound, that he might take the proper measures for intercepting them in their passage to Martinique, and the other French islands. In consequence of this advice, he redoubled his vigilance, and a good number of them fell into his hands.

In the Mediterranean, vice-admiral Medley blocked up the Spanish squadron in Carthageua; assisted the Austrian general on the coast of Villa Franca; and intercepted some of the succours sent from France to the assistance of the Genoese. At his death, which happened in the beginning of August, the command of that squadron devolved upon rear-admiral Byng, who proceeded on the same plan of operation. Commodore Griffin had been sent with a reinforcement of ships, to assume the command of the squadron in the East Indies; and although his arrival secured Fort St. David's, and the other British settlements in that country, from the insults of monsieur de la Bourdonnais, his strength was not sufficient to enable him to undertake any enterprise of importance against the enemy: the ministry of England therefore resolved to equip a fresh armament, that, when joined by the ships in India, should be in a condition to besiege Pondicherry, the principal settlement belonging to the French on the coast of Coromandel. For this service, a strong squadron was sent, under the conduct of rear-admiral Boscawen, an officer of unquestioned

tioned valour and capacity. In the course of this year, the British cruisers were so alert and successful, that they took 644 prizes from the French and Spaniards; whereas the loss of Great Britain, in the same time, did not exceed 550.

All the belligerent powers were, by this time, heartily tired of a war which had consumed an immensity of treasure, had been productive of so much mischief, and in the events of which, all, in their turns, had found themselves disappointed. Immediately after the battle of Laffeldt, the king of France had, in a personal conversation with Sir John Ligonier, expressed his desire of a pacification; and afterward his minister at the Hague presented a declaration on the same subject, to the deputies of the states-general. The signal success of the British arms at sea, confirmed him in these sentiments, which were likewise reinforced by a variety of other considerations. His finances were almost exhausted, and his supplies from the Spanish West Indies rendered so precarious, by the vigilance of the British cruisers, that he could no longer depend on their arrival. The trading part of his subjects had sustained such losses, that his kingdom was filled with bankruptcies; and the best part of his navy now contributed to strengthen the fleets of his enemies. The election of a stadtholder had united the whole power of the states-general against him, in taking the most resolute measures for their own safety: his views in Germany were entirely frustrated; the success of his arms in Italy had not at all answered his expectation: and Genoa was become an expensive ally. He had the mortification to see the commerce of Britain flourish in the midst of war, while his own people were utterly impoverished. The parliament of England granted, and the nation paid, such incredible sums as enabled their sovereign, not only to maintain invincible navies and formidable armies, but likewise to give subsidies to all the powers of Europe. His most christian

christian majesty, moved by these considerations, made farther advances toward an accommodation, both at the Hague and in London; and the contending powers agreed to a congress, which was opened in March, 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle, where peace was signed the 7th of October following.

The British fleet in the East Indies, under the command of admiral Boscawen, undertook the siege of Pondicherry; but after the most vigorous attempts to take the place, the admiral was obliged to raise the siege, and return to Fort St. David.

Thus have we brought this war to a conclusion; and shall conclude with observing, that the number of prizes taken by the English, from the beginning to the signing the preliminaries of peace, was 3434; namely, 1249 from the Spaniards, and 2185 from the French: and that they lost, during the war, 3238; 1360 being taken by the Spaniards, and 1878 by the French. Several of the ships taken from the Spaniards were immensely rich; so that the balance upon the whole amounted to almost two millions, in favour of the English.

Notwithstanding a general peace was signed, yet the French gave continual proofs of their intention to observe it no longer than was consistent with their interest; and that they intended to make themselves masters of some parts of our settlements in America. In order to which, they built a chain of forts on the back of our colonies, from the Mississippi to Canada, and gained over great part of the Indians to their interest.

Every method of negotiation was tried to put an end to these disputes; but the repeated and undoubted intelligence received from France, Holland, Italy, &c. of the great naval preparations making in every port of France, and of a great number of veteran troops drawn out of their several corps, and destined for America, convinced the British ministry, that nothing was to be hoped for from a negotiation.

Accord-

Accordingly a strong fleet was fitted out in 1754, to frustrate the designs of the enemy, and protect the British colonies in America.

Whilst all Europe was in suspense about the fate of the English and the French squadrons, preparations for a vigorous sea-war were going forward in England with an unparalleled spirit and success. Other branches of the public service went on with equal alacrity; and such was the eagerness of the people to lend their money to the government, that instead of one million, which was to be raised by way of lottery, three millions eight hundred and eighty thousand pounds were subscribed immediately.

Admiral Boscawen, with eleven ships of the line and a frigate, having taken on board two regiments at Plymouth, sailed in April for the banks of Newfoundland: and, in a few days after his arrival there, the French fleet from Brest came to the same station, under the command of M. Bois de la Mothe. But the thick fogs, which prevail upon these coasts, especially at that time of the year, kept the two armaments from seeing each other; and part of the French squadron escaped up the river St. Lawrence, whilst another part of them went round, and got into the same river through the streights of Belleisle, by a way which was never known to be attempted before by ships of the line. However, whilst the English fleet lay off Cape Race, which is the southernmost point of Newfoundland, two French ships, the *Alcide*, of 64 guns and 480 men, and the *Lys*, pierced for 64 guns, but mounting only 22, being separated from the rest of their fleet in a fog, were both taken, with several considerable officers and engineers, and about eight thousand pounds in money.

Though the taking of these ships, from which the commencement of the war may in fact be dated, fell greatly short of what was hoped for from this expedition; yet, when the news of it reached England, it was of infinite service to the public credit of every kind,  
and



and animated the whole nation, who now saw plainly that the government was determined to keep no farther measures with the French; but justly to repel force by force, and put a stop to their sending more men and arms to invade the property of the English in America, as they had hitherto done with impunity. The French, who, for some time, did not even attempt to make reprisals on our shipping, would gladly have chosen to avoid a war at that time; and to have continued extending their encroachments on our settlements, till they had executed their grand plan of securing a communication from the Mississippi to Canada by a line of forts: many of these they had already erected, and had also destroyed one of ours on the Ohio; whilst they endeavoured to amuse us with fruitless negotiations about the boundaries of Nova Scotia.

The vast increase of the French marine of late years, which in all probability would soon be employed against Britain, very properly occasioned an order for making reprisals general in Europe as well as in America; and that all the French ships, whether outward or homeward bound, should be stopt and brought into British ports. To give the greater weight to these orders, it was resolved to send out those admirals who had distinguished themselves most, toward the end of the last war. Accordingly, Sir Edward Hawke sailed on a cruise to the westward, with 18 ships of the line, a frigate and a sloop; but, not meeting with the French fleet, these ships returned to England. Another fleet, consisting of 22 ships of the line, two frigates, and two sloops, sailed again on a cruise to the westward, under admiral Byng, in hopes of intercepting the French squadron under Duguay, and likewise that commanded by La Mothe, in case of its return from America. But this fleet likewise returned to Spithead, without having been able to effect any thing; though it was allowed, that

the admiral had acted judiciously in the choice of his stations.

In the mean time, the French trade was so annoyed by the English cruisers, that, before the end of this year, 300 of their merchant-ships, many of which, from St. Domingo and Martinico, were extremely rich; and 8000 of their sailors were brought into English ports. By these captures the British ministry answered many purposes: they deprived the French of a great body of seamen, and withheld from them a very large property, the want of which greatly distressed their people, and ruined many of their traders. The outward-bound merchant-ships were insured at the rate of 30 per cent. whilst the English paid no more than the common insurance. This intolerable burden was felt by all degrees of people amongst them: their ministry was publicly reviled, even by their parliaments; and the French name, from being the terror, began to be the contempt of Europe.

Though the English continued to make reprisals upon the French, not only in the seas of America, but also in those of Europe, by taking every ship they could meet with; yet the French, whether from a consciousness of their want of power by sea, or that they might have a more plausible plea to represent England as the aggressor, were so far from returning these hostilities, that their fleet, which escaped Sir Edward Hawke, having taken the Blandford man of war, with governor Lyttelton on board, going to Carolina, they set the governor at liberty, as soon as the court was informed of the ship's being brought into Nantes, and shortly after released both the ship and the crew. However, at the same time, their preparations for a land-war still went on with great diligence; and their utmost arts and efforts were fruitlessly exerted to persuade the Spaniards and Dutch to join with them against Great Britain.

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The English navy, so early as in the month of September, 1755, consisted of one ship of 110 guns, five of 100 guns each, thirteen of 90, eight of 80, five of 74, twenty-nine of 70, four of 66, one of 64, thirty-three of 60, three of 54, twenty-eight of 50, four of 44, thirty-five of 40, and forty-two of 20; four sloops of war of 18 guns each, two of 16, eleven of 14, thirteen of 12, and one of 10; beside a great number of bomb-ketches, fireships, and tenders: a force sufficient to oppose the united maritime strength of all the powers in Europe. Whilst that of the French, even at the end of this year, and including the ships then upon the stocks, amounted to no more than six ships of 80, twenty-one of 74, one of 72, four of 70, thirty-one of 64, two of 60, six of 50, and thirty-two frigates.

Under the cloak of an invading armament, which engrossed the attention of the British nation, the French were actually employed in preparations for an expedition, which succeeded according to their wish. In the beginning of the year 1756, advice was received that a French squadron would soon be in a condition to sail from Toulon, consisting of 12 or 15 ships of the line, with a great number of transports; that they were supplied with provision for two months only, consequently could not be intended for America. Notwithstanding these particulars of information, which plainly pointed out Minorca as the object of their expedition; notwithstanding the extensive and important commerce carried on by the subjects of Great Britain in the Mediterranean; no proper care was taken to send thither a squadron of ships capable to protect the trade, and frustrate the designs of the enemy. Nay, the ministry seemed to pay little or no regard to the remonstrance of general Blakeney, deputy-governor of Minorca, who, in repeated advices, represented the weakness of the garrison which he commanded in St. Philip's castle,

the chief fortress on the island. Far from strengthening the garrison with a proper reinforcement, they did not even send thither the officers belonging to it, who were in England upon leave of absence; nor gave direction for any vessel to transport them, until the French armament was ready to make a descent upon that island. At last their design was so universally known, that the ministry could not any longer defer sending succours to a place of so much importance to the trade of Great Britain. Accordingly vice-admiral Byng was sent with ten ships of the line to the Mediterranean in April; and war was declared in May.

When admiral Byng arrived at Gibraltar, he found captain Edgumbe with the Princess Louisa ship of war, and a sloop; who informed him, that the French armament, commanded by Mr. de la Galissoniere, consisting of 13 ships of the line, with a great number of transports, having on board a body of 15,000 land-forces, had made a descent upon the island of Minorca; from whence he (captain Edgumbe) had been obliged to retire at their approach.

This admiral, being strengthened by Mr. Edgumbe, and reinforced by a detachment from the garrison, set sail from Gibraltar on the 8th day of May, and was joined off Majorca by his majesty's ship the Phoenix, captain Hervey, who confirmed the intelligence he had already received. When he approached Minorca, he descried the British colours still flying at the castle of St. Philip's, and several bomb-batteries playing upon it from different quarters, where the French banners were displayed. The French fleet appeared soon after, to the south-east, and the wind blowing strong off shore, he formed the line of battle. About six o'clock in the evening, the enemy, to the number of 17 ships, 13 of which appeared to be very large, advanced in order; but about seven tacked, with a view to gain the weather-gage. Mr. Byng, in order to preserve that advantage, as well as to make sure of the land-wind in the morning,



ing, followed their example, being then about five leagues from Cape Mola.

At day-light the enemy could not be descried; but soon re-appearing, the line of battle was formed on each side; and, about two o'clock, admiral Byng threw out a signal to bear away two points from the wind, and engage. At this time his distance from the enemy was so great, that rear-admiral West, perceiving it impossible to comply with both orders, bore away with his division seven points from the wind; and, closing down upon the enemy, attacked them with such impetuosity, that the ships which opposed him were in a little time driven out of the line. Had he been properly sustained by the van, in all probability the British fleet would have obtained a compleat victory: but the other division did not bear down, and the enemy's center keeping their station, rear-admiral West could not pursue his advantage without running the risque of seeing his communication with the rest of the line entirely cut off.

In the beginning of the action, the *Intrepid*, of Mr. Byng's division, was so disabled in her rigging, that she could not be managed, and drove on the ship that was next in position: a circumstance which obliged several others to throw all a-back, in order to avoid confusion; and for some time retarded the action. Certain it is, that Mr. Byng, though accommodated with a noble ship of 90 guns, made little or no use of his artillery; but kept aloof, either from an over-strained observance of discipline, or timidity. When his captain exhorted him to bear down upon the enemy, he very coolly replied, That he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the French and Spanish squadrons off Toulon, during the preceding war, had broke the line by his own precipitation, and exposed himself singly to a fire that he could not sustain. Mr. Byng, on the contrary, was determined against acting, except with the line entire; and, on pretence of

rectifying the disorder which had happened among some of the ships, hesitated so long, and kept at such a wary distance, that he never was properly engaged, though he received some few shots in his hull. Mr. de la Galiffoniere seemed equally averse to the continuance of the battle: part of his squadron had been fairly obliged to quit the line; and though he was rather superior to the English in number of men and weight of metal, he did not chuse to abide the consequence of a closer fight: he therefore took advantage of Mr. Byng's hesitation, and edged away with an easy sail to join his van, which had been discomfited. The English admiral gave chase; but the French ships being clean, he could not come up and close with them again, so they retired at their leisure. Then he put his squadron on the other tack, in order to keep the wind of the enemy; and next morning they were altogether out of sight.

While, with the rest of his fleet he lay to, at the distance of ten leagues from Mahon, he detached cruisers to look for some missing ships, which joined him accordingly, and made an enquiry into the condition of the squadron. Three of the capital ships were so damaged in their masts, that they could not keep the sea, with any regard to their safety: a great number of the seamen were ill, and there was no vessel which could be converted into an hospital for the sick and wounded. In this situation, Mr. Byng called a council of war, at which the land-officers were present. He represented to them, that he was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and numbers of men; that they had the advantage of sending their wounded to Minorca, from whence at the same time they were refreshed and reinforced occasionally; that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve St. Philip's fort, and therefore they ought to make the best of their way back to Gibraltar, which might require immediate protection. They unanimously concurred with his sentiments, and thither he directed his

his course accordingly. How he came to be so well acquainted with the impracticability of relieving general Blakeney, is not easy to determine, inasmuch as no experiment was made for that purpose. Indeed, the neglect of such a trial seems to have been the least excusable part of his conduct; for it afterward appeared, that the officers and soldiers belonging to the garrison might have been landed at the Sally-port, without running any great risk; and a gentleman, then in the fort, actually passed and repassed in a boat, unhurt by any of the enemy's batteries.

Mr. Byng's letter to the admiralty, containing a detail of this action, is said to have arrived some days before it was made public; and when it appeared, was curtailed of divers expressions and whole paragraphs, which either tended to his own justification, or implied a censure on the conduct of his superiors. Whatever use might have been made of this letter, while it remained a secret to the public, we shall not pretend to explain: but sure it is, that on the 16th day of June, Sir Edward Hawke and admiral Saunders sailed from Spithead to Gibraltar, to supersede the admirals Byng and West, in their commands of the Mediterranean squadron; and Mr. Byng's letter was not published till the twenty-sixth day of the same month: when it appeared, it produced all the effect which that gentleman's bitterest enemies could have desired. The populace took fire like a train of combustibles, and broke out in such a clamour of rage against the devoted admiral, as could not have been exceeded, if he had lost the whole navy of England, and left the coasts of the kingdom naked to invasion. In a word, he was devoted as the scape-goat of the m——y, to whose misconduct the loss of that important fortress was undoubtedly owing. Byng's miscarriage was thrown out like a barrel to the whale, in order to engage the attention of the people, that it might not be attracted by the real cause of the national misfortune.

tune. In order to keep up the flame which had been kindled against the admiral, recourse was had to the lowest artifices. Agents were employed to vilify his person in all public places of vulgar resort; and mobs were hired at different parts of the capital to hang and burn him in effigy.

The two officers who succeeded to his command in the Mediterranean were accompanied by the lord Trawley, whom his majesty had appointed to supersede general Fowke in the government of Gibraltar; that gentleman having incurred the displeasure of the ministry for not having understood an order which was unintelligible. Directions were dispatched to Sir Edward Hawke, that Byng should be sent home under arrest: and an order to the same purpose was lodged at every port in the kingdom. He was accompanied by Mr. West, general Fowke, and several other officers, who were also recalled in consequence of having subscribed to the council of war, which we have mentioned above. When they arrived in England, Mr. West met with such a reception from his majesty as was thought due to his extraordinary merit; but Mr. Byng was committed close prisoner in an apartment of Greenwich hospital.

From thence Mr. Byng was sent to Portsmouth, where he was tried by a court-martial; the sum of whose opinion was, that he did not do his utmost to relieve Minorca; and that during the engagement he did not do his utmost to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the French king, and assist such of his own ships as were engaged. That he therefore fell under part of the twelfth article of war, and the court adjudged him to be shot: but as it appeared to the court that it was neither through cowardice or disaffection, they unanimously recommended him to mercy. However, notwithstanding this recommendation of the court-martial to his majesty's mercy, and notwithstanding the intercession made for him, an order was sent down for the execution of the sentence; and he

was



was shot on board the *Monarque* at Portsmouth, pitied by all the dispassionate part of the nation.

The loss of Minorca was severely felt in England, as a national disgrace; but, instead of producing dejection and despondence, it excited an universal resentment, not only against Mr. Byng, who had retreated from the French squadron, but also in reproach of the administration.

Sir Edward Hawke, being disappointed in his hope of encountering *la Galissoniere*, and relieving the English garrison of St. Philip's, at least asserted the empire of Great Britain in the Mediterranean, by annoying the commerce of the enemy, and blocking up their squadron in the harbour of Toulon. Understanding that the Austrian government at Leghorn had detained an English privateer, and imprisoned the captain, on pretence that he had violated the neutrality of the port; he detached two ships of war to insist, in a peremptory manner, on the release of the ship, effects, crew, and captain: and they thought proper to comply with his demand, even without waiting for orders from Vienna. The person in whose behalf the admiral thus interposed, was one Fortunatus Wright, a native of Liverpool; who, though a stranger to a sea-life, had, in the last war, equipped a privateer, and distinguished himself in such a manner, by his uncommon vigilance and valour, that, if he had been indulged with a command suitable to his genius, he would have deserved an honourable place in the annals of the navy. An uncommon exertion of spirit was the occasion of his being detained at this juncture. While he lay at anchor in the harbour of Leghorn, commander of the *St. George* privateer of Liverpool, a small ship of twelve guns and eighty men; a large French xebecque, mounted with sixteen cannon, and nearly three times the number of his complement, chose her station in view of the harbour, in order to interrupt the British commerce. The gallant Wright could not endure this insult:

notwithstanding the enemy's superiority in metal and number of men, he weighed anchor, hoisted his sails, engaged him within sight of the shore, and after a very obstinate dispute, in which the captain, lieutenant, and above threescore of the men belonging to the xebeque were killed on the spot, he obliged them to sheer off, and returned to the harbour in triumph. This brave corsair would, no doubt, have signalized himself by many other exploits, had not he, in the sequel, been overtaken by a dreadful storm, in which the ship foundering, he and all his crew perished.

Sir Edward Hawke, having scoured the Mediterranean, and insulted the enemy's ports, returned with the homeward-bound trade to Gibraltar; from whence, about the latter end of the year, he set sail for England with part of his squadron, leaving the rest in that bay for the protection of our commerce.

No action of great importance distinguished the naval transactions of this year on the side of America. In the beginning of June, captain Spry, who commanded a small squadron, cruising off Louisbourg, in the island of Cape Breton, took the *Arc en Ciel*, a French ship of 50 guns, having on board near 600 men, with a large quantity of stores and provisions for the garrison. He likewise made prize of another French ship, with stores of the like destination. On the 27th day of July, commodore Holmes, being in the same latitude, with two large ships and a couple of sloops, engaged two French ships of the line and four frigates, and obliged them to sheer off, after an obstinate dispute.

A great number of privateers were equipped in this country, as well as in the West India islands belonging to the crown of Great Britain; and as these seas swarmed with French vessels, their cruizes proved very advantageous to the adventurers.

Scenes of still higher import were this year acted by the British arms in the East Indies. The English and French companies on the peninsula of Indus,  
prose-

prosecuted their operations, no longer as auxiliaries to the princes of the country, but as principals and rivals, both in arms and commerce. Major Laurence, who now enjoyed the chief command of the English forces, obtained divers advantages over the enemy; when the progress of his arms was interrupted by an unfortunate event at Calcutta, the cause of which is not easily explained. Surajah Doula, viceroy of Bengal, Bakar, and Orixá, taking umbrage at the refusal of certain duties, to which he had laid claim, being particularly incensed at the English governor of Calcutta, for having granted protection to one of his subjects, whom he had outlawed; and, moreover, irritated by other practices of the company, which we cannot pretend to unfold, levied a numerous army, and marching to Calcutta, invested the place, which was then in no posture of defence. The governor, intimidated by the number and power of the enemy, abandoned the fort; and the defence of the place devolved to Mr. Holwell the second in command, who, with the assistance of a few gallant officers, and a very feeble garrison, maintained it with uncommon courage and resolution, against several attacks, until he was over-powered by numbers, and the enemy had forced their way into the castle. He was then obliged to submit; and the suba, or viceroy, promised, on the word of a soldier, that no injury should be done to him or his garrison. Nevertheless, they were all driven, to the number of 146 persons of both sexes, into a place, called the Black-hole prison, a cube of about 18 feet, walled up to the eastward and southward, the only quarters from which they could expect the least refreshing air, and open to the westward by two windows strongly barred with iron, through which there was no perceptible circulation.

The humane reader will conceive with horror the miserable situation to which they must have been reduced, when thus stewed up in a close sultry night,  
under

under such a climate as that of Bengal. In the morning, the suba being informed that the greater part of the prisoners were suffocated, enquired if the chief was alive; and being answered in the affirmative, sent an order for their immediate release, when no more than 23 survived of 146 who had entered alive.

By the reduction of Calcutta, the English East India company's affairs were so much embroiled in that part of the world, that perhaps nothing could have retrieved them but the interposition of a national force and the good fortune of a Clive; whose enterprizes were always crowned with success. In consequence of the company's representations to the government, a small squadron of large ships was sent to the East Indies, under the command of admiral Watson; and in the course of this year arrived at Fort St. David's. The governor of that fortress having received intelligence, that Tullagee Angria, a piratical prince in the neighbourhood of Bombay, was on the eve of concluding a treaty with the nation of the Marahattas, which might prove prejudicial to the interests of the English company; a resolution was taken to drive him from his residence at Geriah, which was well fortified, and formidable to all the trading ships of Europe. He maintained a considerable number of armed gallies, called Grabs, with which he often attacked the largest ships, when they happened to be becalmed on that part of the coast of Malabar. He was in the fourth generation from the first freebooter, who rendered himself independent, and lived like a sovereign prince. The undertaking against Angria was originally concerted with the Marahattas, who likewise equipped an armament both by sea and land against Geriah; but they acted entirely on their own score: and in the reduction of the place gave no manner of assistance to the English.

Admiral Watson sailed from the coast of Coromandel to Bombay, where his squadron was cleaned and refitted; and having on board a body of troops commanded



manded by colonel Clive, he sailed on the 7th day of February, and found in the neighbourhood of Geriah the Marahatta fleet, lying to the northward of the place, in a creek called Rajipore; and a land-army of horse and foot, amounting to 7 or 8000 men, commanded by Rhamagee Punt, who had already taken one small fort, and was actually treating about the surrender of Geriah. Angria himself had quitted the place; but his wife and family remained under the protection of his brother-in-law; who, being summoned to surrender by a message from the admiral, replied, that he would defend the place to the last extremity. In consequence of this refusal, the whole English fleet, in two divisions, sailed into the harbour; and a shell being thrown into one of Angria's armed vessels, set her on fire, and the flames communicating to the rest, they were all destroyed: the fort was set on fire by another shell; and as the magazine of the fort afterward blew up, the governor was at length obliged to submit. In this place, which was reduced with a very inconsiderable loss, the conquerors found above 200 cannon, six brass mortars, a large quantity of ammunition; with money and effects to the value of 130,000 pounds. The fleet which was destroyed, consisted of eight grabs, one ship finished, two upon the stocks, and a good number of gallivats. Among the prisoners, the admiral found Angria's wife, children, and mother, toward whom he demeaned himself with great humanity.

The admiral and Mr. Clive sailed back to Madras in triumph, and there another plan was formed for restoring the company's affairs upon the Ganges; for recovering Calcutta, and taking vengeance on the cruel viceroy of Bengal: all which was happily executed.

In the course of the year 1756, the clamorous voice of dissatisfaction had been raised by a series of disappointments and miscarriages, which were imputed to want of intelligence, sagacity, and vigour in the administration:

tion : and the prospect of their acquiescing in a continental war brought them still farther in contempt and detestation with the body of the people. In order to conciliate the good-will of those whom their conduct had disoblged, to acquire a fresh stock of credit with their fellow-subjects, and remove from their own shoulders part of what future censure might ensue ; they, in 1757, admitted into a share of the administration a certain set of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, the two most illustrious patriots of Great Britain, alike distinguished and admired for their unconquerable spirit and untainted integrity. But the old junto found their new associates very unfit for their purposes. They could neither persuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into measures which they thought repugnant to the true interest of their country : they were accordingly soon after displaced.

What was intended as a disgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, turned out one of the most shining circumstances of their character. The whole nation seemed to rise up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame ; every mouth was opened in their praise ; and a great number of respectable cities and corporations presented them with the freedom of their respective societies, inclosed in golden boxes, as testimonials of their peculiar veneration. Nothing could be more expressive of that reverence which ever waits on superior virtue, than the manner in which the nation displayed its respect and affection for those two fellow citizens ; whose names will always be dear to Britain, while her sons are warmed with the flame of honesty and freedom.

A great number of addresses, dutifully and loyally expressed, solicited the king to restore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Upon this they rested the security and honour of the nation, as well as the public expectation of the speedy and successful issue of a war, hitherto attended with disgraces  
and

and misfortunes. Accordingly his majesty was graciously pleased to redeliver the seals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him secretary of state for the southern department, on the 29th day of June; and five days after, the office of chancellor of the exchequer was restored to Mr. Legge: promotions that afforded universal satisfaction.

The accumulated losses and disappointments of the preceding year, made it absolutely necessary to retrieve the credit of the British arms and councils, by some vigorous and spirited enterprize. A powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readiness to put to sea on the shortest notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Isle of Wight. The naval armament, consisting of 18 ships of the line, beside frigates, fire-ships, bomb-ketches, and transports, was put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, an officer, whose faithful services recommended him, above all others, to this command. Sir John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land-forces; and both strictly enjoined to act with the utmost unanimity and harmony.

Europe beheld with astonishment these mighty preparations. The destination of the armament was wrapped in the most profound secrecy: it exercised the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very serious alarms. Various were the impediments which obstructed the embarkation of the troops for several weeks, while they expressed an eager impatience to signalize themselves against the enemies of the liberties of Europe: but the superstitious drew unfavourable pre-fages from the dilatoriness of the embarkation.

At last the transports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got under sail on the 8th day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and solicitous for her honour. The public, big with expectation, dubious where the stroke would fall, but confident of its success, were impatient for tidings

tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the 14th, that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a descent was meditated on the coast of France near Rochfort, or Rochelle. But though some dispositions were made toward a disembarkation, no troops were landed, except on the little island of Aix, situated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochfort. After a parade of destroying the fortifications here, this grand fleet returned to England. Such was the issue of an expedition that raised the expectation of all Europe, threw the coasts of France into the utmost confusion, and cost the people of England little less than a million of money.

The fleet was no sooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. Certain it was, that blame must fall somewhere, and the m——y resolved to acquit themselves, and fix the accusation, by requesting his majesty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to enquire into the causes of the late miscarriage. This alone was what could appease the public clamours, and afford general satisfaction. Sir John Mordaunt was also tried, by his own desire, and acquitted.

Beside the diversion intended by a descent on the coast of France, several other methods were employed to amuse the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, secure our colonies in the West Indies, and insure the continuance of the extraordinary success which had lately blessed his majesty's arms in the East Indies: but these we could not mention before, without breaking the thread of our narration.

In February, admiral West sailed with a squadron of men of war to the westward; as did admiral Coates with the fleet under his convoy to the West Indies: and commodore Stevens with the trade to the East Indies, in the month of March. Admiral Holbourn, and commodore Holmes, with eleven ships of the line, a fireship, a bomb-ketch, and fifty transports, sailed from St. Helen's for America in April. The  
admiral



admiral had on board 6200 effective men, exclusive of officers, under the command of general Hopson, assisted by lord Charles Hay. In May, admiral Osborne, forced back to Plymouth with his squadron by stress of weather, set sail to the Mediterranean; as did two ships of war sent to convoy the American trade.

In the mean time the privateers fitted out by private merchants, and societies, greatly annoyed the French commerce. The Antigallican, a private ship of war, equipped by a society of gentlemen who assumed that name, took the Duke de Penthièvre Indiaman off the port of Corunna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was estimated worth 200,000 pounds; and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain for restitution, as the French East India company asserted, it was taken within shot of a neutral port. The Penthièvre was wrested out of the hands of the captors, detained as a deposit, with sealed hatches, and a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined; and at last was adjudged to be an illegal capture, and restored to the French. Beside the success which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, by the English sloops and men of war; exclusive of the Duke de Aquitaine Indiaman, now fitted out as a ship of war; the Pondicherry Indiaman, valued at 160,000 pounds; and above six privateers, which last were brought into port by the diligent and brave captain Lockhart, and for which he was honoured with a variety of presents of plate by several corporations. This turn of good fortune was not, however, without some retribution on the side of the enemy, who, out of 21 ships, homeward-bound from Carolina, made prize of 19; whence the merchants sustained considerable damage,

and a great quantity of valuable commodities, indigo in particular, was lost to this country.

The operations at sea, during the course of the year 1757, either in Europe or America, were far from being decisive or important. The commerce of Great Britain sustained considerable damage from the activity and success of French privateers. The Greenwich ship of war of 50 guns, and a frigate of 20, fell into the hands of the enemy, together with a very considerable number of trading vessels. On the other hand, the English cruisers and privateers acquitted themselves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Aquitaine, of 50 guns, was taken; the Aquilon, of nearly the same force, was driven on shore and destroyed. A French frigate, of 26 guns, called the *Emeraude*, was taken by a ship of inferior force under the command of captain Gilchrist, a gallant officer. All the sea-officers seemed to be animated with a noble emulation, to distinguish themselves in the service of their country; and the spirit descended even to the captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valour in the pursuit of national glory.

Perhaps history cannot afford a more remarkable instance of desperate courage, than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an English privateer, of 26 guns and 200 men, called the *Terrible*, under the command of captain William Death. He engaged, and made prize of, a large French ship from St. Domingo, with the loss of his own brother and 16 seamen: he then directed his course to England; but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the *Vengeance*, a privateer of St. Malo, carrying 36 large  
cannon,

cannon, with 360 men. Their first step was to attack the prize, which was easily retaken; then the two ships bore down upon the *Terrible*, which maintained such a furious engagement against both, as can hardly be paralleled in the annals of Britain. The French commander and his second were killed, with two-thirds of his company; but the gallant captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almost his whole crew, having met with the same fate, his ship was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than 26 persons alive, 16 of whom were mutilated by the loss of legs or arms, and the other 10 grievously wounded. The ship itself was so shattered that it could scarcely be kept above water; and the whole exhibited a scene of blood, horror, and desolation. The victor itself lay like a wreck on the surface; and in this condition made shift, with great difficulty, to tow the *Terrible* into St. Malo, where she was not beheld without astonishment and terror. This adventure was no sooner known in England, than a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's \* widow, and that part of the crew which survived the engagement.

In this, and every sea-encounter that happened within the present year, the superiority in skill and resolution, was ascertained to the British mariners: for even when they fought against great odds, their courage was generally crowned with success. In the month of November, captain Lockhart, a young gentleman, who had already rendered himself a terror to the enemy, as commander of a small frigate, now added considerably to his reputation, by reducing the *Melampe*, a French privateer of Bayonne, greatly superior to his ship, in men and metal; and

\* There was a strange combination of names belonging to this privateer: the *Terrible*, equipped at *Execution-Dock*, commanded by captain *Death*, whose lieutenant was called *Devil*, and he had one *Ghost* for his surgeon. It may be added, that it was taken by the *Vengeances*.

also another French adventurer, called the Countess of Gramont. A third large privateer of Bayonne was taken by captain Saumarez, of the *Antelope*. In a word, the narrow seas were so well guarded, that in a little time scarce a French ship durst appear in the English channel, which the British traders navigated without molestation. The British cruisers kept the sea during all the severity of the winter, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themselves with such activity, and their vigilance was attended with such success, that the trade of France was almost totally extinguished. A very gallant exploit was achieved by one captain Bray, commander of the *Adventurer*, a small armed vessel in the government's service: falling in with the *Machault*, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungeness, he ran her aboard, fastened her boltsprit to his capstan, and after a warm engagement, compelled her commander to submit. A French frigate, of 36 guns, was taken by captain Parker, in a new fireship of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were sunk, burned, or taken; and a great number of merchant-ships fell into the hands of the English.

Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English channel. An action happened off the island of Hispaniola; between three English ships of war and a French squadron. Captain Forrest had, in the ship *Augusta*, sailed from Port Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the *Dreadnought* and *Edinburgh*, under the command of the captains Suckling and Langdon, to cruise off Cape François: and this service he literally performed, in the face of a French squadron lately arrived at that place from the coast of Africa. The commander, piqued at seeing himself thus insulted by an inferior armament, resolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at least drive them out of these seas, so as to afford a free passage to a  
great



great number of merchant-ships then lying at the Cape, bound for Europe; he took every precaution which he thought necessary to insure success. He weighed anchor and stood out to sea, having under his command four large ships of the line, and three stout frigates. They were no sooner perceived advancing, than captain Forrest held a short council with his two captains. "Gentlemen, (said he) you know our own strength, and see that of the enemy: shall we give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he added, "Then fight them we will; there is no time to be lost: return to your ships, and get them ready for engaging." After this laconic consultation among these three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French squadron without further hesitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuosity. The enemy exerted themselves with uncommon spirit, conscious that their honour was peculiarly at stake, and that they fought in sight, as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people expecting to see them return in triumph. But notwithstanding all their endeavours, their commodore, after having sustained a severe engagement that lasted two hours and a half, found his ship in such a shattered condition, that he made signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which, with the favour of the land-breeze and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, that were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory. They were so much damaged, that, being unable to keep the sea, they returned to Jamaica; and the French commodore seized the opportunity of sailing with a convoy for Europe.

The courage of captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in his engagement with the French squadron near Cape François, than his conduct and sagacity in

a subsequent adventure near Port au Prince, a French harbour, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola. After Mr. de Kerfin had taken his departure from Cape François for Europe, captain Forrest was commanded by admiral Cotes to cruize off the island of Gonave for two days only, enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the squadron at Cape Nicholas. Accordingly, captain Forrest, in the *Augusta*, proceeded up the bay, between the island Gonave and Hispaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himself projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two sloops, he forbore chasing, that he might not risque a discovery: for the same purpose he hoisted Dutch colours, and disguised his ship with tarpaulins. At five in the afternoon, he discovered seven sail of ships steering to the westward, and hauled from them to avoid suspicion; but at the approach of night gave chase with all the sail he could carry. About ten, he perceived two sail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the best of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period, captain Forrest reckoned eight sail to leeward, near another fort called Petit Goave: coming up with the ship which had fired the gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largest cannon, and threatened to sink her if she should give the least alarm. He forthwith shifted the prisoners from this prize, and placed on board of her 35 of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Goave, and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. Then he made sail after the rest, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear: they returned the fire for some time; at length three of them struck their colours. These, being secured, were afterward used in taking the other five. Thus,  
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by a well-conducted stratagem, a whole fleet of nine sail were taken by a single ship in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate shelter and security.

The ministry having determined, in 1758, to make vigorous efforts against the enemy in North America, admiral Boscawen was vested with the command of the fleet destined for that service, and sailed from St. Helen's on February, when the *Invincible* of 74 guns, one of his best ships, run aground and perished.

In the course of the succeeding month, Sir Edward Hawke steered into the bay of Biscay with another squadron, in order to intercept any supplies from France designed for Cape-Breton or Canada; and about the same time, the town of Emden, belonging to his Prussian majesty, which had fallen into the hands of the enemy, was suddenly retrieved by the conduct of commodore Holmes, stationed on that coast. Admiral Osborne, while he cruised between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena, on the coast of Spain, fell in with a French squadron, commanded by the marquis du Quesne, consisting of four ships; namely, the *Foudroyant* of 80 guns, the *Orphée* of 64, the *Orislamme* of 50, and the *Pleiade* frigate of 24, in their passage from Toulon to reinforce M. de la Clue, who had for some time been blocked up by admiral Osborne in the harbour of Carthagena. The enemy no sooner perceived the English squadron than they dispersed, and steered different courses: Mr. Osborne detached divers ships in pursuit of each, while he himself, with the body of his fleet, stood off for the bay of Carthagena, to watch the motions of the French squadron which there lay at anchor. About seven in the evening, the *Orphée* struck to captain Storr in the *Revenge*. The *Monmouth* of 64 guns, commanded by captain Gardener, engaged the *Foudroyant*, one of the largest ships in the French navy, under the command of the marquis du Quesne. The

action was maintained with great fury on both sides, and the gallant captain Gardener lost his life : nevertheless the fight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant Mr. Carkett, and the Foudroyant disabled in such a manner, that her commander struck as soon as the other English ships, the Swiftsure and the Hampton-court, appeared. This mortifying step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie like a wreck upon the water, and the decks covered with carnage. The Oriflamme was driven on shore under the castle of Aiglos, by the ships Montague and Monarque, commanded by the captains Rowley and Montague, who could not compleat their destruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the Pleiade frigate, she made her escape.

This was a severe stroke upon the enemy, who not only lost two of their capital ships, but saw them added to the navy of Great Britain ; and the disaster was close followed by another, which they could not help feeling with equal sensibility of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, Sir Edward Hawke discovered off the isle of Aix a French fleet at anchor, consisting of five ships of the line, with six frigates, and forty transports, having on board 3000 troops, and a large quantity of stores and provision, intended as a supply for their settlements in North America. They no sooner saw the English admiral advancing, than they began to slip their cables and fly in the utmost confusion. Some of them escaped to sea, but the greater number ran into shoal water, where they could not be pursued ; and next morning they appeared aground, lying on their broadsides. Sir Edward Hawke, who had rode all that night at anchor abreast of the isle of Aix, furnished the ships Intrepid and Medway, with trusty pilots, and sent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to sound a-head, that he might know whether there was any possibility of attacking the enemy ; but the want of a sufficient depth of  
water



water rendered this scheme impracticable. In the mean time, the French threw overboard their cannon, stores, and ballast; and the boats and launches from Rochefort, were employed in carrying out warps to drag their ships through the soft mud, as soon as they should be waterborne by the flowing tide. By these means, their large ships of war, and many of their transports, escaped into the river Charente; but their loading was lost, and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant-ships, under the protection of three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chaced into the harbour of St. Martin's, on the isle of Rhé, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a second departure: a third, consisting of twelve sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebec, under convoy of a frigate and armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship of the line and two fireships, which took the frigate and armed vessel; and two of the convoy afterward met with the same fate: but this advantage was over-balanced by the loss of captain James Hume, commander of the Pluto fireship, a brave accomplished officer, in an unequal combat with the enemy: and by the unfortunate burning of admiral Broderick's ship, the Prince George of 80 guns, which happened in his passage to the Mediterranean.

On the 29th day of May, the *Raisonable*, a French ship of the line, mounted with 64 cannon, having on board 630 men, commanded by the prince de Mombazon chevalier de Rohan, was, in her passage from Port l'Orient to Brest, attacked by captain Dennis in the *Dorsetshire* of 70 guns; and taken after an obstinate engagement, in which 160 men of the prince's complement were killed or wounded, and he sustained great damage in his hull, sails and rigging.

The king of Great Britain, being determined to renew his attempt upon the coast of France, ordered a formidable armament to be equipped for that purpose.

pose. Two powerful squadrons by sea were destined for the services of this expedition: the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by Lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke; the other, composed of four ships of the line, seven frigates, six sloops, two fireships, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store ships, and one hundred transports, under the direction of commodore Howe. A body of troops, consisting of sixteen regiments, nine troops of light-horse, and six thousand marines, was assembled for the execution of this design, and embarked under the command of the duke of Marlborough, assisted by lord George Sackville. The troops, having for some time been encamped upon the Isle of Wight, were embarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets sailed in the beginning of June for the coast of Bretagne, leaving the people of England flushed with the gayest hopes of victory and conquest.

The two fleets parted at sea: lord Anson with his squadron proceeded to the bay of Biscay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships, and harass their navigation; while commodore Howe, with the land forces, steered directly toward St. Malo, on the coast of Bretagne, against which the purposed invasion seemed to be chiefly intended. The town, however, was found too well fortified to admit of any attempt with prospect of success; and therefore it was resolved to make a descent in the neighbourhood. After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, detained several days in sight of the French coast, it arrived in the bay of Cancale, about two leagues to the eastward of St. Malo; where the troops were landed without much opposition. The duke of Marlborough immediately began his march toward St. Servan, with a view to destroy such shipping and magazines as might be in any accessible parts of the river; and this scheme was executed with success. A great quantity of naval stores, two ships of war, several privateers, and about fourscore vessels of different sorts, were set on fire, and reduced to ashes, almost under

under the cannon of the place; which, however, they could not pretend to besiege in form. His grace, having received repeated advices that the enemy were busily employed in assembling forces to march against him, returned to Cancalle; where Mr. Howe had made such a masterly disposition of the boats and transports, that the reembarkation of the troops was performed with surprising ease and expedition.

The British forces being reembarked, the fleet was detained by contrary winds in the bay of Cancalle for several days; during which a design seems to have been formed for attacking Granville, and afterward for landing at Havre de Grace, and at Cherbourg: neither of which took effect, from the tempestuousness of the weather. The fleet therefore steered for the Isle of Wight, and anchored at St. Helen's.

Such was the issue of an enterprize achieved with considerable success, if we consider the damage done to the enemy's shipping, and the other objects which the ministry had in view; namely, to secure the navigation of the channel, and make a diversion in favour of our German allies, by alarming the French king, and obliging him to employ a great number of troops to defend his coast from insult and invasion: but whether such a mighty armament was necessary for the accomplishment of these petty aims, is left to the reader's own reflection.

The designs upon the coast of France, though interrupted by tempestuous weather, were not as yet laid aside for the whole season: but, in the mean time, the troops were disembarked on the Isle of Wight. The duke of Marlborough and lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct this British corps upon the continent, the command of the marine expeditions devolved to lieutenant-general Bligh, an old experienced officer, who had served with reputation; and his royal highness prince Edward, afterward created Duke of York, entered as a volunteer  
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with commodore Howe, in order to learn the rudiments of the sea-service.

Every thing being prepared for the second expedition, the fleet sailed from St. Helen's on the first of August; and after a tedious passage, anchored on the 7th in the bay of Cherbourg. Here, though they met with opposition, the troops made good their landing, two miles from the town; the French retired, and the English forces marching to Cherbourg, found it abandoned; and the gates being open, entered it without opposition. The next morning, the place being reconnoitred, the general determined to destroy, without delay, all the forts and the bason; and the execution of this design was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery. Great sums of money had been expended upon the harbour and bason of Cherbourg, which at one time was considered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Seine, as well as the opposite coast of England; but as the works were left unfinished, in all appearance the plan had grown into disreputation. While the engineers were employed in demolishing the works, the light horse scoured the country. About twenty pieces of brass cannon were secured on board the English ships; a contribution was exacted upon the town; and a plan of reembarkation concerted: as it appeared from the reports of peasants and deserters, that the enemy, who encamped about four leagues off, were already increased to a formidable number. The forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and reembarked without the least disturbance from the enemy.

This service being happily performed, the fleet anchored in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the westward of St. Malo, against which it was determined to make another attempt. The troops landed on a fair open beach, and a detachment of grenadiers was sent to the harbour of St. Briac, above the  
town



town of St. Malo, where they destroyed above 15 small vessels. But St. Malo being properly surveyed, appeared to be above insult, either from the land-forces or the shipping. The design against St. Malo was therefore dropped; but the general being unwilling to reembark without having taken some step for the further annoyance of the enemy, resolved to penetrate into the country; conducting his motions, however, so as to be near the fleet, which had, by this time, quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with any safety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward.

General Bligh, with his little army, marched to Guildo, at the distance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Matignon, where, after some smart skirmishing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having sustained a few shot from the English field-pieces, and seeing the grenadiers advance, they suddenly dispersed. General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for reembarkation: for he now received undoubted intelligence, that the duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Brest to Lambale, within six miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, six squadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an intrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or oppose any disembarkation; and on the outside of this work, there was a range of sand-hills extending along shore, which could have served as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in reembarking: for this reason, a proposal was made to the general, that the forces should be reembarked from a fair open beach on the left, between

tween St. Cas and Guildo; but this advice was rejected; and, indeed, the subsequent operations of the army favoured strongly of blind security and rash presumption.

Had the troops decamped in the night without noise, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the least intelligence of their motion: but instead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beaten at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who forthwith repeated the same signal. The troops were in motion before three, and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were so numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach of St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily finished, had the transports lain near the shore, and received the men as fast as the boats could have conveyed them on board without distinction; but many ships rode at a considerable distance, and every boat carried the men on board the respective transports to which they belonged; a punctilio of disposition, by which a great deal of time was unnecessarily consumed.

The British forces had skirmished a little on the march, but no considerable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took possession of an eminence by a wind-mill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with considerable effect upon the soldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their passage. Many swam toward the boats and vessels, which were ordered to give them all manner of assistance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water. About 1000 chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion: nor was the advantage cheaply purchased by  
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the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution.

The whole strength of Great Britain, during the campaign of 1758, was not exhausted in petty descents on the coast of France. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigour was displayed; nor did she fail to exert herself in successful efforts against the French settlements on the coast of Africa: there, a small squadron without much trouble, took possession of Fort Louis and the town of Senegal. But the attempt on Goree miscarried; though the failure was not attended with any great loss. This settlement was however taken afterward by a small squadron under commodore Keppel, after a warm but short dispute.

Scenes of still greater importance were acted in North America, where, exclusive of the fleet and marines, the government had assembled about 50,000 men, including 22,000 regular troops. About 12,000 of these were destined to undertake the siege of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape Breton. The reduction of Louisbourg, being an object of immediate consideration, was undertaken with all possible dispatch. Major-general Amherst, being joined by admiral Boscawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, consisting of 157 sail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova Scotia; and on the 2d of June part of the transports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, about 7 miles to the westward of Louisbourg. The garrison of this place, commanded by the chevalier Drucour, consisted of 2500 regular troops, 300 militia, formed of the burghers; and toward the end of the siege, they were reinforced by 350 Canadians, including 60 Indians. The harbour was secured by six ships of the line, and five frigates, three of which the enemy sunk across the harbour's mouth, in order to render it inaccessible to the English shipping. The govern-  
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nor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by establishing a chain of posts along the most accessible parts of the beach : but there were some intermediate places which could not be properly secured, and in one of these the English troops were disembarked ; on which occasion brigadier Wolfe distinguished himself greatly.

The landing was not effected, however, without an obstinate opposition : and the stores, with the artillery, being brought on shore, the town of Louisbourg was formally invested. The difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the siege ; and Mr. Amherst made his approaches with great circumspection. A very severe fire, well directed, was maintained against the besiegers and their work, from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour ; and divers sallies were made, though without much effect. Beside the regular approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers, under the immediate command and inspection of general Amherst, divers batteries were raised by the detached corps under brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himself with amazing activity. The three great ships, the *Entreprenant*, *Capricieux*, and *Celebre*, were set on fire by the bomb-shells, and burned to ashes ; so that none remained but the *Prudent* and *Bienfaisant*, which the admiral undertook to destroy. For this purpose, the boats of the squadron were detached into the harbour in the night time, through a terrible fire. The *Prudent*, being aground, was set on fire, and destroyed ; but the *Bienfaisant* was towed out of the harbour in triumph.

In the prosecution of the siege, the admiral and general co-operated with remarkable harmony : the fire of the town was also managed with equal skill and activity, and kept up with great perseverance ; until, at length, their shipping being all taken or  
destroyed,



destroyed, and divers practicable breaches effected, the governor was constrained to submit.

Thus, at the expence of about 400 men killed or wounded, the English obtained possession of the important island of Cape Breton, and the strong town of Louisbourg; in which the victors found 221 pieces of cannon, 18 mortars, and a considerable quantity of stores and ammunition. The loss of Louisbourg was the more severely felt by the French king, as it had been attended with the destruction of 10 many considerable ships.

In the East Indies the transactions of the war were chequered with a variety of success; but, on the whole, the designs of the enemy were entirely defeated. The French king had sent a considerable reinforcement to the East Indies, under the command of general Lally, with such a number of ships as rendered the squadron of Mr. d'Apché superior to that of admiral Pocock; who succeeded after the death of admiral Watson, to the command of the English squadron, stationed on the coast of Coromandel; which, in the beginning of this year, was reinforced from England with several ships, under the direction of commodore Stevens. Immediately after this junction, admiral Pocock, who had already signalized himself by his courage and conduct, failed to intercept the French squadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days he descried in the road of Fort St. David the enemy's fleet, consisting of nine ships; which immediately stood out to sea, and formed the line of battle a-head. The admiral took the same precaution, and, bearing down upon Mr. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon. The French commodore, having sustained a warm action for about four hours, bore away with his whole fleet; and being joined by two ships, formed a line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pocock's own ship, and some others, being greatly damaged in their masts and rigging, two of his cap-

tains having misbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think it adviseable to pursue them closely; nevertheless, he followed them at a proper distance, and maintained the weather gage, in case he should be able to renew the action in the morning. However, in the morning, not the least vestige of them appeared. Such was the issue of the first action between the English and French squadrons in the East Indies, which, over and above the loss of a capital ship, disabled and run ashore, is said to have cost the enemy about 500 men, whereas the British admiral did not lose one fifth part of that number.

In the mean time, Mr. Lally had disembarked his troops at Pondicherry, and, taking the field, immediately invested the fort of St. David, while the squadron blocked it up by sea; two English ships being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains, seeing no possibility of escaping, ran them on shore, set them on fire, and retired with their men into the fortress, which, however, was in a few days surrendered. Admiral Pocock having, to the best of his power, repaired his ships, set sail again, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, could not reach it in time to be of any service. On the 30th day of May he came in sight of Pondicherry, from whence the French squadron stood away early next morning; nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all possible efforts for that purpose. He sailed a third time in quest of Mr. Apché, and in two days perceived his squadron, consisting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no sooner descried him advancing, than they stood out to sea as before, and he continued to chase, in hope of bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved fruitless, till the 3d day of August, when, having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle. The engagement began

gan with great impetuosity on both sides, but in little more than ten minutes Mr. d'Apché set his fore-sail and bore away, his whole squadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line. The British admiral then hoisted the signal for a general chase, which the enemy perceiving, thought proper to cut away their boats, and croud with all the sail they could carry. They escaped by favour of the night into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pocock anchored with his squadron off Carical, a French settlement; having thus obtained an undisputed victory, with the loss of 30 men killed. The French fleet was so much damaged, that their commodore sailed for the island of Bourbon, in the same latitude with Madagascar, in order to refit; thus leaving the command and sovereignty of the Indian seas to the English admiral.

Previous to the more capital operations by sea, we shall specify the most remarkable captures that were made upon the enemy by single ships of war, during the course of the summer and autumn, 1759. A French privateer, belonging to Granville, called the Marquis de Marigny, of 20 guns and 200 men, was taken by captain Parker, of the Montague; who likewise made prize of a smaller armed vessel, from Dunkirk, of 8 cannon and 60 men. About the same period, captain Graves, of the Unicorn, brought in the Moras privateer of St. Malo, of 22 guns and 200 men. Two large merchant-ships, loaded on the French king's account, for Martinique, with stores for the troops on that island, were taken by captain Lendrick, of the Brilliant. Captain Hood, of the Vestal, belonging to a small squadron commanded by admiral Holmes, who had sailed for the West Indies in January, being advanced a considerable way a-head of the fleet, descried and gave chase to the Bellona, of 32 guns and 220 men. Captain Hood, having made a signal to the admiral, continued the chase until he advanced within half musket-shot of the

enemy, and then poured in a broadside, which was immediately retorted. The engagement was maintained with great vigour on both sides, for the space of four hours; at the expiration of which, the *Bel-lona* struck, after having lost all her masts and rigging, with about 40 men killed in the action: nor was the victor in a much better condition. The *Bel-lona* had sailed in January from the island of Martinique, along with the *Florissant*, and another French frigate, from which she had been separated in the passage.

Immediately after this exploit, captain Elliot, of the *Æolus* frigate, accompanied by the *Isis*, made prize of French ship, the *Mignonne*, of 20 guns and 140 men; one of four frigates employed as a convoy to a large fleet of merchant-ships, near the island of Rhée.

In the month of March, the English frigates the *Southampton* and *Melampe*, commanded by the captains Gilchrist and Hotham, being at sea to the northward on a cruise, fell in with the *Danae*, of 40 cannon, and 330 men, which was engaged by captain Hotham in a ship of half the force, who maintained the battle a considerable time with admirable gallantry, before his consort could come to his assistance. As they fought in the dark, captain Gilchrist was obliged to lie by for some time, because he could not distinguish the one from the other; but no sooner did the day appear than he bore down upon the *Danae*, and soon compelled her to surrender.

Another remarkable exploit was about the same juncture achieved by captain Barrington, of the *Achilles*, of 60 cannon, who, to the westward of Cape Finisterre, encountered a French ship of equal force, called the *Count de St. Florentin*; who was obliged to strike after a close and obstinate engagement. Captain Falkner, in the *Windsor*, of 60 guns, cruising to the westward, discovered four large ships to leeward; which formed the line of battle a-head,

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in order to give him a warm reception. He closed with the sternmost ship, which sustained his fire about an hour: then the other three bearing away, she struck her colours, and was conducted to Lisbon. She proved to be the Duc de Chartres, pierced for 60 cannon, though at that time carrying no more than 24, with 300 men. She belonged, with the other three that escaped, to the French East India company, was loaded with gunpowder and naval stores, and bound for Pondicherry.

In the month of May, a French frigate, called the *Arethusa*, of 32 guns, and well manned, submitted to two British frigates, the *Venus* and the *Thames*, commanded by the captains Harrison and Colby.

Several armed ships of the enemy, and rich prizes, were taken in the West Indies; particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ships with French commodities, all richly laden, by some of the ships of the squadron which vice-admiral Cotes commanded in the Jamaica station. But notwithstanding the vigilance and courage of the English cruizers in those seas, the French privateers swarmed to such a degree, that, in the course of this year, they took above 200 sail of British ships, valued at 600,000 pounds sterling. This their success is the more remarkable, as by this time the island of Guadalupe was in possession of the English, and commodore Moore commanded a numerous squadron in those very latitudes.

Having taken notice of some remarkable captures that were made by single ships, we shall now proceed to describe the actions that were performed in this period by the different squadrons of Great Britain. Intelligence having been received, that the enemy meditated an invasion upon some of the British territories, and that a number of flat-bottomed boats were prepared at Havre de Grace, for the purpose of disembarking troops; rear-admiral Rodney was detached with a small squadron of ships and bombs, to

overawe that part of the coast of France. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre, and made a disposition to execute the instructions he had received. The bomb vessels being placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their shells, and continued the bombardment for 52 hours, without intermission; during which, a numerous body of French troops was employed in throwing up entrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both shot and shells upon the assailants. The town was set on fire in several places, and burned with great fury; some of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to ashes, while the inhabitants forsook the place in the utmost consternation: nevertheless, the damage done to the enemy was too inconsiderable to make amends for the expence of the armament, and the loss of 1900 shells and 1100 carcasses, which were expended on this expedition. Bombardments of this kind are at best but expensive and unprofitable operations, and may be deemed a barbarous method of prosecuting war; inasmuch as the damage falls rather upon the innocent inhabitants, than on the government.

The honour of the British flag was much more effectually asserted by the gallant admiral Boscawen, who was entrusted with the conduct of a squadron in the Mediterranean. It must be owned, however, that his first attempt favoured of temerity. Having in vain displayed the British flag in sight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that there lay at anchor; he ordered three ships of the line, commanded by the captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ships that lay close to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and met with a very warm reception from divers batteries which they had not before perceived: so that they were towed off with great difficulty, in a very shattered condition. The admiral seeing three of his best ships so roughly handled

handled in this enterprize, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit; and M. de la Clue, commander of the squadron at Toulon, seized this opportunity of sailing, in hope of passing the Streights mouth unobserved; his fleet consisting of 12 large ships and 3 frigates. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded 14 sail of the line, with 2 frigates, and as many fireships, having refitted his squadron, detached 2 frigates to keep a good look-out, and give timely notice in case the enemy should approach. On the 17th of August, in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a signal that 14 sail appeared on the Barbary shore. Upon which the English admiral immediately went to sea: at day-light he descried seven large ships lying to; but when the English squadron did not answer their signal, they discovered their mistake, set all their sails, and made the best of their way. Even now perhaps he might have escaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the *Souveraine*, which was a heavy failer. At noon the wind, which had blown a fresh gale, died away; and it was some time before his headmost ships could close with the rear of the enemy; which, though greatly out-numbered, fought with uncommon bravery. The English admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the sternmost, used all his endeavours to come with the *Ocean*, which Mr. de la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock in the afternoon, running athwart her hawse, poured into her a furious broadside: thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both sides. This dispute, however, was of short duration; in about half an hour admiral Boscawen's mizen-mast and top-sail-yards were shot away; and the enemy hoisted all the sail they could carry. Mr. Boscawen, having shifted his flag from the *Namur* to the *Newark*, joined some other ships in attacking the *Centaur* of 74 guns, which, being thus overpowered, was obliged to surrender. The British admiral pursued them all night, during which the *Souveraine*

and Guerrier altered their course, and deserted their commander. At day-break, Mr. de la Clue, whose left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceived the English squadron crowding all their sails to come up with him, and finding himself on the coast of Portugal, determined to burn his ships rather than they should fall into the hands of the victors. The Ocean was run ashore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired three shots at the English: another captain of the French squadron followed the example of his commander; and both endeavoured to disembark their men: but the sea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The captains of the *Temeraire* and *Modeste*, instead of destroying their ships, anchored as near as they could to the forts Exavier and Lagres, in hope of enjoying their protection; but in this hope they were disappointed. Mr. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the Ocean was left to the count de Carne; who having received one broadside from the *America*, struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, the best ship in the French navy, mounted with 80 cannon. Captain Bentley of the *Warspight*, who had remarkably signalized himself by his courage during the action of the preceding day, attacked the *Temeraire* of 74 guns, and brought her off with little damage. Vice-admiral Broderick, the second in command, advancing with his division, burned the *Redoubtable* of 74 guns, which was bulged and abandoned by her men and officers; but they made prize of the *Modeste*, carrying 64 guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement. This victory was obtained by the English admiral at a very small expence of men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding 250 on board of the British squadron; though the carnage among the enemy must have been much more considerable: but the most severe circumstance of this disaster was the  
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loss of four capital ships, two of which were destroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the best bottoms of the British navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was, that not one officer lost his life in the engagement.

The court of Versailles, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and divert their attention from all external expeditions, had, in the winter, projected a plan for invading some part of the British dominions; and, in the beginning of the year, had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of their coast, for carrying this design into execution. Every precautionary step was, however, taken to frustrate their intentions; but the administration wisely placed their chief dependence upon the strength of the navy; part of which was so divided and stationed, as to block up all the harbours of France, in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of consequence. Notwithstanding the disaster of Mr. de la Clue, the French ministry persisted in their design: toward the execution of which, they had prepared another considerable fleet, at the harbours of Rochfort, Brest, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by Mr. de Conflans, and reinforced by a considerable body of troops. Flat-bottomed boats, and transports to be used in this expedition, were prepared in different ports on the coast of France; and a small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprising adventurer called Thurot, who had, in the course of the preceding year, signaled his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the *Belleisle*.

This man's name became a terror to the merchants of Great Britain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in eluding the pursuit of the British cruisers, who were successively detached in quest of him. The court of Versailles was not insensible to his merit. He obtained a commission

mission from the French king, and was vested with the command of the small armament now sitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk.

The British government, apprised of all these particulars, took such measures to defeat the proposed invasion, as must have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain to those who considered, that, exclusive of the force opposed to this design, they at the same time carried on the most vigorous and important operations of war in Germany, America, the East and West Indies. Thurot's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an English squadron in the Downs, commanded by commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded by rear-admiral Rodney; Mr. Boscawen had been stationed off Toulon; and the coast of Vannes was scoured by a small squadron detached from Sir Edward Hawke, who had, during the whole summer, blocked up the harbour of Brest, where Conflans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other divisions of the armament. These different squadrons of the British navy were connected by a chain of separate cruisers; so that the whole coast of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, were distressed by an actual blockade.

The French ministry being thus hampered, forbore their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invasion seemed to hang in suspense, till the month of August, in the beginning of which their army in Germany was defeated at Minden. Their designs in that country being baffled by this disaster, they seemed to convert their chief attention to their sea-armament; the preparations were resumed with redoubled vigour: even after the defeat of La Clue, they resolved to try their fortune in a descent upon Ireland: and the young pretender remained in the neighbourhood of Vannes incognito, in order once more to hazard his person, and countenance a revolt in the dominions of Great Britain.

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The execution of this scheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Brest, with a fleet of 23 capital ships; while another squadron of smaller ships and frigates, under the command of captain Duff, continued to cruise along the French coast from Port L'Orient in Bretagne to the point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the British squadron were driven from the coast of France by stress of weather, and on the 9th day of the month anchored in Torbay. Admiral Conflans snatched this opportunity of sailing from Brest, with 21 sail of the line and 4 frigates, in hope of being able to destroy the English squadron commanded by captain Duff, before the larger fleet could return from the coast of England. Sir Edward Hawke, having received intelligence that the French fleet had sailed from Brest, immediately stood to sea, in order to pursue them; and, in the mean time, the government issued orders for guarding all those parts of the coast that were thought the most exposed to a descent.

While these measures were taken with equal vigour and deliberation, Sir Edward Hawke steered his course directly for Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French squadron. On the 20th of November, he fell in with them, as they were giving chase to captain Duff's squadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run some risque of being taken. Sir Edward Hawke, who had formed the line a-breast, now perceiving that the French admiral endeavoured to escape, threw out a signal for seven of his ships that were nearest the enemy to chase, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be reinforced by the rest of the squadron. Considering the roughness of the weather, the nature of the coast, which is in this place very hazardous, and entirely unknown to the British sailors, it required extraordinary resolution in  
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the English admiral to attempt hostilities on this occasion. With respect to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no superiority in men or metal; consequently Mr. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle in the open sea, without any imputation of temerity: but he thought proper to play a more artful game, and retired close in shore, with a view to draw the English squadron among the shoals and islands, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either stay, and take advantage of their disaster, or, if hard pressed, retire through channels unknown to the British pilots.

At half an hour after two, the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. Every ship as she advanced poured in a broadside on the sternmost of the French, and bore down upon their van, leaving the rear to those that came after. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George of 110 guns, reserved his fire in passing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his master to bring him along-side of the French admiral, who commanded in person on board of the Soleil Royal, of 80 guns and 1200 men. When the pilot remonstrated that he could not obey his command, without the most imminent risque of running upon a shoal, the brave veteran replied, "You have done your duty in shewing the danger; now you are to comply with my order, and lay me along-side the Soleil Royal." His wish was gratified: the Royal George ranged up with the French admiral. The Thesée, another large ship of the enemy, running up between the two commanders, sustained the fire reserved for the Soleil Royal; but in returning the first broadside foundered, in consequence of the high sea that entered her lower deck-ports, and filled her with water. Notwithstanding the boisterous weather, a good number of ships on both sides fought with equal fury and dubious success, till about  
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four in the afternoon, when the Formidable struck her colours. The Superbe shared the fate of the Thesée in going to the bottom. The Heros hauled down her colours in token of submission, and dropped anchor; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be sent to take possession. By this time day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet escaped under colour of the darkness.

Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-shore, and the British squadron being intangled among unknown shoals and islands, Sir Edward Hawke made the signal for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumer, and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and incessant firing of guns of distress, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The Soleil Royal had, under favour of the night, anchored also in the midst of the British squadron; but at day-break, Mr. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and she drove ashore to the westward of Crozie. The English admiral immediately made signal to the Essex to slip her cable and pursue her; but in obeying this order, she ran unfortunately on a sand-bank, called Lefour, where the Resolution, another ship of the English squadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably lost, in spite of all the assistance that could be given: but all their men, and part of their stores, were saved, and the wrecks burnt. He likewise detached the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance, to destroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people, before the English ships could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the Heros to ashes on Lefour, where she had been also stranded: and the Juste, another of their great ships, perished in the mouth of the Loire.

The admiral perceiving seven large ships of the enemy riding at anchor between Point Penvas and the

the mouth of the river Vilaine, made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even ordered the top-gallant-masts to be struck.

In the mean time, the French ships being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the Vilaine; where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by some occasional batteries erected on the shore, and by two large frigates, moored across the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually secured from any attempts of small vessels; and as for large ships, there was not water sufficient to float them within fighting distance of the enemy.

On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconsiderable number of lives were lost, may be considered as one of the most perilous and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations: for it not only defeated the projected invasion, which had hung menacing so long over the apprehensions of Great Britain; but it gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking any thing of consequence in the sequel.

By this time, indeed, Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk, and directed his course to the North Sea, whither he was followed by commodore Boys, who nevertheless was disappointed in his pursuit; but the fate of that adventurer falls under the occurrences of the ensuing year.

As for Sir Edward Hawke, he continued cruising off the coast of Bretagne for a considerable time after the victory he had obtained, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river Vilaine, that the seven French ships might not escape, and join Mr. Conflans, who made shift to reach Rochfort with the shattered remains of his squadron. Indeed, this service

vice became such a considerable object in the eyes of the British ministry, that a large fleet was maintained upon this coast, apparently for no other purpose, during a whole year; and, after all, the enemy eluded their vigilance.

A plan had been formed for improving the success of the preceding year in North America, by carrying the British arms up the river St. Laurence, and besieging Québec, the capital of Canada. The armament employed against the French islands of Martinique and Guadalupe, constituted part of this design; inasmuch as the troops embarked on that expedition were, in case of a miscarriage at Martinique, intended to reinforce the British army in North America, which was justly considered as the chief seat of the war. Martinique was reduced to great distress by the ruin of its trade, and by want of all, even necessary provisions, when the inhabitants every day expected a visit from the British armament, whose progress we are now to relate. In November of the preceding year, captain Hugh's sailed from St. Helen's, with eight sail of the line, one frigate, four bomb-ketches, and a fleet of transports, containing land forces, under the command of major-general Hopson. At Barbadoes they joined commodore Moore, who now assumed the command of the united squadrons, amounting to ten ships of the line, beside frigates and bomb-ketches.

After an unsuccessful attempt on Martinique, the failure of which it is not easy to account for, the whole armament directed their course to Guadalupe, another of the French Caribbee islands, lying 30 leagues to the westward. Having arrived at Basseterre, a council of war was held on board the commodore's ship; where it was resolved to make a general attack by sea, upon the citadel, the town, and other batteries by which it was defended. A disposition being made for this purpose, the large ships took  
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their respective stations next morning, being the 23<sup>d</sup> of January.

In this present attack, all the sea commanders behaved with extraordinary spirit and resolution, particularly the captains Leslie, Burnet, Gayton, Jekyl, Trelawney, and Shuldham; who, in the hottest tumult of the action, distinguished themselves equally by their courage, impetuosity, and deliberation. The four bombs being anchored near the shore, began to ply the town with shells and carcasses; so that in a little time the houses were in flames, the magazines of gunpowder blew up with the most terrible explosion, and about ten o'clock the whole place blazed out one general conflagration.

Next day at two in the afternoon, the fleet came to an anchor in the road of Basseterre, where they found the hulls of divers ships which the enemy had set on fire at their approach: several ships turned out and endeavoured to escape, but were intercepted and taken by the English squadron. At five, the troops landed without opposition, and took possession of the town and citadel, which they found entirely abandoned. They learned from a Genoese deserter, that the regular troops of the island consisted of five companies only, the number of the whole not exceeding 100 men; and that they had laid a train to blow up the powder-magazine in the citadel: but had been obliged to retreat with such precipitation, as did not permit them to execute this design. The train was immediately cut off, and the magazine secured. The nails with which they had spiked up their cannon were drilled out by the matrosses; and in the mean time, the British colours were hoisted on the parapet. Part of the troops took possession of an advantageous post on an eminence, and part entered the town, which still continued burning with great violence.

In the morning, at day-break, the enemy appeared, to the number of 2000, about four miles from  
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the town, and began to throw up intrenchments in the neighbourhood of a house where the governor had fixed his head-quarters, declaring he would maintain his ground to the last extremity. In the mean time, the reduction of the islanders on the side of Guadalupe appearing more and more impracticable, the general resolved to transfer the seat of war to the eastern and more fertile part of the island, called Grand-Terre; which, as we have already observed, was defended by a strong battery, called Fort Louis. In pursuance of this determination, the great ships were sent round to Grand-terre, in order to reduce this fortification, which they accordingly effected on the 13th of February. After a severe cannonading, which lasted six hours, a body of marines being landed, with the highlanders, they drove the enemy from their intrenchments sword in hand, and, taking possession of the fort, hoisted the English colours.

In a few days after this exploit, general Hopson dying at Basse-terre, the chief command devolved to general Barrington, who resolved to prosecute the final reduction of the island with vigour and dispatch.

In the mean time, commodore Moore having received certain intelligence that Mons. de Bompard had arrived at Martinique with a squadron, consisting of eight sail of the line and three frigates, having on board a whole battalion of Swiss, and some other troops, to reinforce the garrisons of the islands; he called in his cruisers, and sailed immediately to the bay of Dominique, an island to the windward, at the distance of nine leagues from Guadalupe; whence he could always sail to oppose any designs which the French commander might form against the operations of the British armaments.

Without entering into a detail of the proceedings of the land-forces, toward a reduction of the internal parts of the island, which was a work of some time; it is sufficient to observe, that the inhabitants capitulated on May 1st, 1759, at the very time that

a considerable reinforcement from Martinique had landed on another part of the island; which on knowledge of this event, returned directly.

The town of Basse-terre being reduced to a heap of ashes, the inhabitants began to clear away the rubbish, and erected occasional sheds, where they resumed their several occupations with that good humour so peculiar to the French nation; and general Barrington humanely indulged them with all the assistance in his power.

Immediately after the capitulation of Guadalupe, he summoned the islands called Santos and Deseada to surrender; and they, together with Petit-terre, submitted on the same terms which he had granted to the great island: but his proposal was rejected by the inhabitants of Marigalante, which lies about three leagues to the south-east of Grand-terre, extending 20 miles in length, 15 in breadth, flat and fertile, but poorly watered, and ill-fortified. The general, resolving to reduce it by force, embarked a body of troops on board of transports, which sailed thither under convoy of three ships of war and two bomb vessels from prince Rupert's Bay; and at their appearance the islanders submitting, received an English garrison.

Three regiments were allotted as a sufficient guard for the whole island, and the other three were embarked for England. General Barrington himself went on board the Roebuck in the latter end of June, and with the transports, under convoy of captain Hughes, and a small squadron, set sail for Great Britain; while commodore Moore, with his large fleet, directed his course to Antigua.

The reduction of Niagara, and the possession of Crown-point, were exploits much more easily achieved than the conquest of Quebec, the great object to which all these operations were subordinate. Of that we now come to give the detail, fraught with singular events; in the course of which a noble spirit  
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of enterprize was displayed. It was about the middle of February that a considerable squadron sailed from England for Cape Breton, under the command of the admirals Saunders and Holmes: but the harbour was blocked up with ice in such a manner, that they were obliged to bear away for Halifax in Nova Scotia. From hence admiral Saunders arrived at Louisbourg; and the troops being embarked, to the number of 8000, proceeded up the river without further delay. The operations at land were intrusted to the conduct of major-general James Wolfe, whose talents had shone with such superior lustre at the siege of Louisbourg; and his subordinates in command were the brigadiers Monckton, Townshend, and Murray.

The armament intended for Quebec sailed up the river St. Laurence, without having met with any interruption, or having perceived any of those difficulties and perils with which it had been reported that the navigation of it was attended. Their good fortune in this particular, indeed, was owing to some excellent charts of the river, which had been found in vessels taken from the enemy. About the latter end of June the land-forces were disembarked in two divisions upon the isle of Orleans, situated a little below Quebec. General Wolfe no sooner landed on the island of Orleans than he distributed a manifesto among the French colonists, explaining the nature of the undertaking; that the hostilities were intended against the settlements and forces of the king of France, but not against the innocent inhabitants; assuring them of his protection while they gave him no disturbance, which he shewed them must be ineffectual, and would only expose them to his resentment. This declaration produced no immediate effect; nor, indeed, did the Canadians depend upon the sincerity and promised faith of a nation, whom their priests had industriously represented as the most savage and cruel enemy on earth. Possessed of those notions, which prevailed even among the better sort, they chose to

abandon their habitations, and expose themselves and families to certain ruin, in provoking the English by the most cruel hostilities, rather than to be quiet, and confide in the general's promise of protection : so that Mr. Wolfe, in order to intimidate the enemy into a cessation of these outrages, found it necessary to connive at some irregularities in the way of retaliation.

Mr. de Montcalm, who commanded the French troops, though superior in number to the invaders, very wisely resolved to depend upon the natural strength of the country, which appeared almost insurmountable, and had carefully taken all his precautions of defence. The city of Quebec was skilfully fortified, secured with a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provision and ammunition. Montcalm had reinforced the troops of the colony, and had taken the field, in a very advantageous situation, encamped along the shore of Beauport, from the river St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci; every accessible part being deeply intrenched. To undertake the siege of Quebec against such odds and advantages, was not only a deviation from the established maxims of war, but seemingly a rash enterprise : Mr. Wolfe was well acquainted with the difficulties of the undertaking; but he knew at the same time he should always have it in his power to retreat, in case of emergency, while the British squadron maintained its station in the river; and he was not without hope of being joined by general Amherst. Understanding that there was a body of the enemy posted, with cannon, at the Point of Levi, on the south shore, opposite to the city of Quebec, he detached against them brigadier Monckton, at the head of four battalions, who passed the river at night; and next morning, having skirmished with some of the enemy's irregulars, obliged them to retire from that post, which the English immediately occupied. At the same time colonel Carlton, with another detachment,



tachment, took possession of the western point of the island of Orleans; and both these posts were fortified, in order to anticipate the enemy, who, had they kept possession of either, might have rendered it impossible for any ship to lie at anchor within two miles of Quebec. Beside, the Point of Levi was within cannon-shot of the city, against which a battery of mortars and artillery was immediately erected. Montcalm, foreseeing the effect of this expedient, detached a body of sixteen hundred men across the river, to attack and destroy the works before they were completed: but this detachment fell into disorder, fired upon each other, and retired in confusion. The battery being finished, without further interruption, the cannon and mortars began to play with such success, that in a little time the upper town was considerably damaged, and the lower town reduced to a heap of rubbish.

In the mean time the fleet was exposed to the most imminent danger. Immediately after the troops had been landed on the island of Orleans, the wind increased to a furious storm, which blew with such violence, that many transports ran foul of one another, and were disabled; a number of boats and small craft foundered, and divers large ships lost their anchors. The enemy resolving to take advantage of the confusion which they imagined this disaster must have produced, prepared seven fireships, and at midnight sent them down from Quebec among the transports, which lay so thick as to cover the whole surface of the river. The scheme, though well contrived, and seasonably executed, was entirely defeated by the deliberation of the British admiral, and the dexterity of his marines, who resolutely boarded the fireships, and towed them fast a-ground; where they lay burning to the water's edge, without having done the least prejudice to the English squadron. On the very same day of the succeeding month, they sent  
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down a raft of fireships, or radeaus, which were likewise consumed, without producing any effect.

The works for the security of the hospital, and the stores on the island of Orleans, being finished, the British forces crossed the north channel in boats, and landing under the cover of two sloops, encamped on the side of the river Montmorenci, which divided them from the left of the enemy; and next morning a company of rangers, posted in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked by the French Indians, and totally defeated: however, the nearest troops advancing, repulsed the Indians in their turn with considerable loss. On the 18th day of July, the admiral, at general Wolfe's request, sent two ships of war, two armed sloops, and some transports, having troops on board, up the river; and they passed the city of Quebec, without having sustained any damage. The general, being on board of this little armament, carefully observed the banks on the side of the enemy, which were extremely difficult from the nature of the ground; and these difficulties were redoubled by the foresight and precaution of the French commander. Though a descent seemed impracticable between the city and Cape Rouge, where it was intended, general Wolfe, in order to divide the enemy's force, and procure intelligence, ordered a detachment, under the command of colonel Carlton, to land higher up at the Point Au Tremble; to which place he was informed, a good number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired with their most valuable effects. This service was performed with little loss, and some prisoners were brought away; but no magazine was discovered.

The general, thus disappointed in his expectation, returned to Montmorenci, where brigadier Townshend had, by maintaining a superior fire across that river, prevented the enemy from erecting a battery, which would have commanded the English camp: and now he resolved to attack them, though posted

to great advantage, and every where prepared to give him a warm reception. His design was, first to reduce a detached redoubt close to the water's edge; seemingly situated without gun-shot of the intrenchment on the hill. Should this fortification be supported by the enemy, he foresaw that he should be able to bring on a general engagement: on the contrary, should they remain tame spectators of its reduction, he could afterward examine their situation at leisure, and determine the place at which they could be most easily attacked. Preparations were accordingly made for storming the redoubt: which was undertaken with great bravery, but the fire of the French was so hotly maintained, that the English were for that time obliged to give up the contest. Had the attack succeeded, the loss of the English must have been very heavy, and that of the French inconsiderable; because the neighbouring woods afforded them immediate shelter: finally, the river St. Charles still remained to be passed, before the town could be invested.

Immediately after this mortifying check, in which above five hundred men, and many brave officers were lost, the general detached brigadier Murray, with twelve hundred men, in transports above the town, to co-operate with rear-admiral Holmes, whom the admiral had sent up with some force against the French shipping, which he hoped to destroy. The brigadier was likewise instructed to seize every opportunity of fighting the enemy's detachments, and even of provoking them to battle. In pursuance of these directions, he twice attempted to land on the north shore; but these attempts were unsuccessful: the third effort was more fortunate; he made a sudden descent at Chambaud, and burned a considerable magazine, filled with arms, cloathing, provision, and ammunition.

The disaster at the falls of Montmorenci made a deep impression on the mind of general Wolfe; he

knew the character of the English people, rash, impatient, and capricious; elevated to exultation by the least gleam of success, dejected even to despondency by the most inconsiderable frown of adverse fortune. Among those who shared his confidence, he was often seen to sigh, he was often heard to complain, and even in the transports of his chagrin, declare, that he would never return without success, to be exposed, as other unfortunate commanders had been, to the censure and reproach of an ignorant populace. This tumult of the mind, added to the fatigues of body he had undergone, produced a fever and dysentery; by which, for some time, he was totally disabled.

When we consider the situation of this place, and the fortifications with which it was secured; the natural strength of the country; the great number of vessels and floating batteries they had provided for the defence of the river; the skill, valour, superior force, and uncommon vigilance of the enemy; their numerous bodies of savages continually hovering about the posts of the English, to surprize parties and harass detachments; we must own that there was such a combination of difficulties, as might have discouraged and perplexed the most resolute and intelligent commander.

As no possibility appeared of annoying the enemy above the town, the scheme of operations was totally changed. The three brigadiers formed, and presented a plan for conveying the troops farther down in boats, and landing them in the night within a league of Cape Diamond, in hope of ascending the heights of Abraham, which rise abruptly, with a steep ascent from the banks of the river; that they might take possession of the ground on the back of the city, where it was but indifferently fortified. The dangers and difficulties attending the execution of this design were so peculiarly discouraging, that one would imagine it could not have been embraced but by a spirit  
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of enterprize that bordered on desperation. The stream was rapid; the shore shelving; the bank of the river lined with centinels; the landing place so narrow as to be easily missed in the dark; and the ground so difficult as hardly to be surmounted in the day-time, had no opposition been expected.

The previous steps being taken, and the time fixed for this hazardous attempt, admiral Holmes moved with his squadron farther up the river, about three leagues above the place appointed for the disembarkation; that he might deceive the enemy, and amuse Mr. de Bougainville, whom Montcalm had detached with 1500 men to watch the motions of that squadron: but the English admiral was directed to sail down the river in the night, so as to protect the landing of the forces; and these orders he punctually fulfilled. On the 12th of September, an hour after midnight, the first embarkation, consisting of four compleat regiments, the light infantry, commanded by colonel Howe, a detachment of Highlanders, and the American grenadiers, was made in flat-bottomed boats, under the immediate command of the brigadiers Monckton and Murray. Without any disorder the boats glided gently along; but, by the rapidity of the tide, and darkness of the night, they overshot the mark, and the troops landed a little below the place at which the disembarkation was intended.

How far the success of this attempt depended upon accident, may be conceived from the following particulars.—In the twilight two French deserters were carried on board a ship of war, commanded by captain Smith, and laying at anchor near the North shore. They told him, that the garrison of Quebec expected that night to receive a convoy of provisions, sent down the river in boats, from the detachment above, commanded by Mr. de Bougainville. These deserters standing upon deck, and perceiving the English boats, with the troops, gliding down the river in the dark, began to shout, and make a noise; declaring

declaring they were part of the expected convoy. Captain Smith, who was ignorant of general Wolfe's design, believing their affirmation, had actually given orders to point the guns at the British troops; when the general perceiving a commotion on board, rowed along-side in person, and prevented the discharge, which would have alarmed the town, and entirely frustrated the attempt.

The French had posted sentinels along-shore, to challenge boats and vessels, and give the alarm occasionally. The first boat that contained the English troops, being questioned accordingly, a captain of Fraser's regiment, who had served in Holland, and who was perfectly well acquainted with the French language and customs, answered, without hesitation, to *Qui vit?* which is their challenging word, *la France*: nor was he at a loss to answer the second question, which was much more particular and difficult. When the sentinel demanded *a quel regiment?* of what regiment? the captain replied, *de la Reine*, which he knew, by accident, to be one of those that composed the body commanded by Bougainville. The soldier took it for granted, this was the expected convoy; and saying *passé*, allowed all the boats to proceed without further question. In the same manner the other sentinels were deceived; though one more wary than the rest, came running down to the water's edge, and called, *pourquoy est que vous ne parlez plus haut?* "Why don't you speak aloud?" To this interrogation, which implied doubt, the captain answered with admirable presence of mind, in a soft tone of voice, *Tai toi, nous serons entendues!* "Hush! we shall be overheard and discovered." Thus cautioned, the sentinel retired without farther altercation. The midshipman who piloted the first boat, passing by the landing-place in the dark, the same captain, who knew from his having been posted formerly with his company on the other side of the river, insisted upon the pilot's being mistaken; and commanded the

owers to put ashore in the proper place, or at least very near it.

As the troops landed, the boats were sent back for the second embarkation, which was superintended by brigadier Townshend. In the mean time colonel Howe, with the light infantry and the Highlanders, ascended the woody precipices with admirable courage and activity; and dislodged a captain's guard, which defended a small intrenched narrow path, by which alone the rest of the forces could reach the summit. Then they mounted, without further molestation from the enemy, and the general drew them up in order, as they arrived. Monsieur de Montcalm no sooner understood that the English had gained the heights of Abraham, which in a manner commanded the town on its weakest part, than he resolved to hazard a battle, and began his march without delay; after having collected his whole force from the side of Beauport.

General Wolfe, perceiving the enemy crossing the river St. Charles, began to form his own line; the French had lined the bushes and corn-fields in their front with 1500 of their best marksmen, who kept up an irregular galling fire, which proved fatal to many brave officers, thus singled out for destruction. This fire, indeed, was in some measure checked by the advanced posts of the British line; who piqueered with the enemy for some hours before the battle began. Both armies were destitute of artillery, except two small pieces on the side of the French, and a single gun, which the English seamen had made shift to draw up from the landing-place. This was very well served, and galled their column severely. General Wolfe was stationed on the right; at the head of Bragg's regiment, and the Louisbourg grenadiers, where the attack was most warm. As he stood conspicuous in the front of the line, he had been aimed at by the enemy's marksmen; and received a shot in the wrist, which, however, did not oblige him to quit

quit the field. Having wrapped a handkerchief round his hand, he continued giving orders without the least emotion ; and advanced at the head of the grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, when another ball unfortunately pierced the breast of this young hero, who fell in the arms of victory, just as the enemy gave way ! For, at this very instant, every separate regiment of the British army seemed to exert itself for the honour of its own peculiar character. General Wolfe being slain, and, at the same time, Mr. Monckton dangerously wounded at the head of Lascelles's regiment, where he distinguished himself with remarkable gallantry, the command devolved to brigadier Townshend, who hastened to the centre ; and finding the troops disordered in the pursuit, formed them again with all possible expedition. This necessary task was scarce performed, when M. de Bougainville, with a body of 2000 fresh men, appeared in the rear of the English. He had begun his march from Cape Rouge, as soon as he received intelligence that the British troops had gained the heights of Abraham ; but did not come up in time to have any share in the battle.

Mr. Townshend immediately ordered two battalions, with two pieces of artillery, to advance against this officer, who retired, at their approach. The French general Mr. de Montcalm was mortally wounded in the battle, and conveyed into Quebec ; from whence, before he died, he wrote a letter to general Townshend, recommending the prisoners to that generous humanity by which the British nation is distinguished. His second in command was left wounded on the field, and next day expired on board an English ship, to which he had been conveyed. About one thousand of the enemy were made prisoners, including a great number of officers ; and about five hundred were slain on the field of battle. The wreck of their army, after they had reinforced the



the garrison of Quebec, retired to Trois Rivières and Montreal.

This important victory was obtained at the expence of fifty men killed, including nine officers; and of about 500 men wounded; but the death of general Wolfe was a national loss, and universally lamented.

Immediately after the battle of Quebec, admiral Saunders sent up all the boats of the fleet, with artillery and ammunition; and sailed up, with all the ships of war, in a disposition to attack the lower town; while the upper part should be assaulted by general Townshend. But on the 17th of September, before any battery could be finished, a flag of truce was sent from the town, with proposals of capitulation; which, being maturely considered by the general and admiral, were accepted and signed at eight next morning.

They granted the more favourable terms, as the enemy continued to assemble in the rear of the British army; as the season was become wet, stormy, and cold; threatening the troops with sickness, and the fleet with accident; and as a considerable advantage would result from taking possession of the town while the walls were in a state of defence.

The capitulation was no sooner ratified, than the British forces took possession of Quebec, and guards were posted in different parts of the town, to preserve order and discipline. The death of Montcalm, which was indeed an irreparable loss to France, in all probability, overwhelmed the enemy with consternation; and confounded all their councils: otherwise we cannot account for the tame surrender of Quebec to a handful of troops, even after the victory they had obtained: for the season was so far advanced, that the British forces in a little time must have been forced to desist, by the severity of the weather, and even retire with their fleet before the approach of winter, which never fails to freeze up the river St. Laurence.

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The city of Quebec being reduced, together with great part of the circumjacent country, brigadier Townshend, who had accepted his commission with the express proviso, that he should return to England at the end of the campaign, left a garrison of 5000 effective men, victualled from the fleet, under the command of brigadier Murray; and embarking with admiral Saunders, arrived in Great Britain about the beginning of winter. As for brigadier Monckton, he was conveyed to New York, where he happily recovered of his wounds.

While the arms of Great Britain triumphed in Europe and America, her interest was not suffered to languish in other parts of the world. This was the season of ambition and activity, in which every separate armament seemed to exert themselves with the most eager appetite of glory. The East Indies, which, in the course of the preceding year, had been the theatre of operations carried on with various success, exhibited nothing now but a succession of trophies to the English commanders. During the operations by land, the superiority at sea was still disputed between the English and French admirals. On the 1st day of September, vice-admiral Pocock sailed from Madras to the southward, in quest of the enemy; and next day descried the French fleet, consisting of fifteen sail, standing to the northward. He used his utmost endeavours to bring them to a battle, which they still declined, and at last they disappeared. He then directed his course to Pondicherry, on the supposition that they were bound to that harbour; and on the 8th day of the month, perceived them standing to the southward: but he could not bring them to an engagement till the 10th, when Mr. d'Apche, about two in the afternoon, made the signal for battle, and the cannonading began without further delay. The British squadron did not exceed nine ships of the line; the enemy's fleet consisted of eleven;

eleven; but they had still a greater advantage in number of men and artillery. Both squadrons fought with great impetuosity, till about ten minutes after four, when the enemy's rear began to give way: this example was soon followed by their centre: and finally the van, with the whole squadron, bore to the south south-east, with all the canvas they could spread. The British squadron was so much damaged in their masts and rigging, that they could not pursue; so that M. d'Apche retreated at his leisure unmolested. On the 15th, admiral Pocock returned to Madras, where his squadron being prepared by the 26th, he sailed again to Pondicherry, and in the road saw the enemy lying at anchor in line of battle. The wind being off shore, he made the line of battle a-head, and for some time continued in this situation. At length the French admiral weighed anchor, and came forth; but instead of bearing down upon the English squadron, which had fallen to leeward, he kept close to the wind, and stretched away to the southward. Admiral Pocock finding him averse to another engagement, and his own squadron being in no condition to pursue, he, with the advice of his captains, desisted, and measured back his course to Madras; while the French squadron made the best of their way to the island of Mauritius, in order to be refitted, having on board general Lally, and some other officers. Thus they left the English masters of the Indian coast; a superiority still more confirmed by the arrival of rear-admiral Cornish with four ships of the line, who had set sail from England in the beginning of the year, and joined admiral Pocock at Madras on the 18th day of October.

The French were not the only enemies with whom the English had to cope in the East Indies. The great extension of their trade in the kingdom of Bengal, had excited the envy and avarice of the Dutch factory, who possessed a strong fort at Chinchura in the river of Bengal; and resolved, if possible, to engross the  
whole

whole salt-petre branch of commerce. Their scheme was approved by the governor of Batavia, who charged himself with the execution of it; and for that purpose, chose the opportunity when the British squadron had retired to the coast of Malabar. On pretence of reinforcing the Dutch garrisons in Bengal, he equipped an armament of seven ships, having on board 500 European troops, and 600 Malayese, under the command of colonel Ruffel. This armament having touched at Negapatam, proceeded up the bay, and arrived in the river of Bengal about the beginning of October. Colonel Clive, who then resided at Calcutta, had received information of their design, which he was resolved, at all events, to defeat. He complained to the Subah, who, upon such application, could not decently refuse an order to the director and council of Hughley, implying, that this armament should not proceed up the river. The colonel at the same time sent a letter to the Dutch commodore, that as he had received information of their design, he could not allow them to land forces, and march to Chinchura. In answer to this declaration, the Dutch commodore, whose whole fleet had not yet arrived, assured the English-commander that he had no intention to send any forces to Chinchura; and begged liberty to land some of his troops for refreshment; a favour that was granted, on condition that they should not advance. Notwithstanding the Subah's order, and his own engagement to this effect, the rest of the ships were no sooner arrived, than he proceeded up the river to the neighbourhood of Tannah-fort, where his forces being disembarked, began their march to Chinchura. In the mean time, by way of retaliating the affront he pretended to have sustained, in being denied a passage to their own factory, he took several small vessels on the river belonging to the English company: and the Calcutta Indiaman, commanded by captain Wilson, homeward-bound, sailing down the river, the Dutchman gave



gave him to understand, that if he presumed to pass, he would sink him without further ceremony. The English captain seeing them run out their guns, as if really resolved to put the threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where two other India ships lay at an anchor; and reported his adventure to colonel Clive, who forthwith ordered the three ships to prepare for battle, and attack the Dutch armament. The ships being properly manned, and their quarters lined with salt-petre, they fell down the river, and found the Dutch squadron drawn up in line of battle, in order to give them a warm reception; for which indeed they seemed well prepared: for three of them were mounted with 36 guns each; three of them with 26; and the seventh carried 16. The duke of Dorset, commanded by captain Forrester, being the first that approached them, dropped anchor close to their line, and began the engagement with a broadside, which was immediately returned. A dead calm unfortunately intervening, this single ship was for a considerable time exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; but a small breeze springing up, the Calcutta and the Hardwick advanced to her assistance, and a severe fire was maintained on both sides, till two of the Dutch ships slipping their cables, bore away, and a third was driven ashore. Their commodore thus weakened, after a few broadsides, struck his flag to captain Wilson; and the other three followed his example. The victory being thus obtained, without the loss of one man on the side of the English, captain Wilson took possession of the prizes, the decks of which were strewed with carnage, and sent the prisoners to colonel Clive at Calcutta. The detachment of troops, which they had landed to the number of 1100 men, was not more fortunate in their progress. Colonel Clive no sooner received intelligence that they were in full march to Chinchura, than he detached colonel Forde, with 500 men from Calcutta, in order to put a stop to their march. The Dutch advanced

to the charge with great resolution and activity; but found the fire of the English artillery and battalion so intolerably hot, that they soon gave way, and were totally defeated.

In the mean time, proposals of accommodation being sent to him by the directors and council of the Dutch factory at Chinchura, a negotiation ensued, and a treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of all parties. Above 300 of the prisoners entered into the service of Great Britain: the rest embarked on board their ships, which were restored as soon as the peace was ratified, and set out on their return for Batavia.

The navy in 1760 amounted to 120 ships of the line, beside frigates, fireships, sloops, bombs, and tenders. Of these ships 17 were stationed in the East Indies, 20 for the defence of the West Indian islands, 12 in North America, 10 in the Mediterranean, and 61 either on the coast of France, in the harbours of England, or cruising in the English seas for the protection of the British commerce. Notwithstanding these numerous and powerful armaments, the enemy, who had not a ship of the line at sea, were so alert with their small privateers and armed vessels, that, in the beginning of this year, from the 1st of March to the 10th of June, they had made prize of 200 vessels belonging to Great Britain and Ireland. The prodigious number of British vessels, taken by their petty coasting privateers, in the face of such mighty armaments, numerous cruisers, and convoys, seems to argue, that either the English ships of war were inactive or improperly disposed; or that the merchants hazarded their ships without convoy. Certain it is, in the course of this year we find fewer prizes taken from the enemy, and fewer exploits achieved at sea, than we had occasion to record in the annals of the past.

Not that the present year is altogether barren of events, which redound to the honour of our marine commanders. We have, in recounting the transactions

actions of the preceding year, mentioned a small armament equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of Mr. de Thurot; who, in spite of all the vigilance of the British commander stationed in the Downs, found means to escape from the harbour in the month of October, and arrived at Gottenburgh in Sweden, from whence he proceeded to Bergen in Norway. His instructions were to make occasional descents upon the coast of Ireland; and, by dividing the troops, and distracting the attention of the government in that kingdom, to facilitate the enterprize of Mr. de Conflans, the fate of which we have already narrated. The original armament of Thurot consisted of five ships, one of which, called the *Mareschal de Belleisle*, was mounted with 44 guns; the *Begon*, the *Blond*, the *Terpsichore*, had 30 guns each; and the *Marante* carried 24. The number of soldiers put on board this little fleet, did not exceed 1270, exclusive of mariners to the number of 700: but in their voyage between Gottenburgh and Bergen they lost company of the *Begon*, during a violent storm. The intention of Thurot was to make a descent about Derry; but before this design could be executed, the weather growing tempestuous, they were driven out to sea, and, in the night, lost sight of the *Marante*, which never joined them in the sequel. After having been tempest-beaten for some time, the officers requested of Thurot, that he would return to France, lest they should all perish by famine; but he lent a deaf ear to this proposal, and frankly told them, he could not return to France, without having struck some stroke for the service of his country. Nevertheless, in hope of meeting with some refreshment, he steered to the island of *Isla*, where the troops were landed; and here they found black cattle, and a small supply of oatmeal, for which they payed a reasonable price; and it must be owned, Thurot himself behaved with great moderation and generosity.

While this spirited adventurer struggled with these wants and difficulties, his arrival in those seas filled the whole kingdom with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were posted along the coasts of Ireland and Scotland; and beside the squadron of commodore Boys, who sailed to the northward on purpose to pursue the enemy, other ships of war were ordered to scour the British channel, and cruize between Scotland and Ireland. The weather no sooner permitted Thurot to pursue his destination, than he sailed from Isla to the bay of Carrickfergus in Ireland, and made all the necessary preparations for a descent; which was accordingly effected, with 600 men, on the 21st day of February. Lieutenant colonel Jennings commanded four companies of raw undisciplined men at Carrickfergus. A regular attack was carried on, and a spirited defence made, until the ammunition of the English failed: then colonel Jennings retired in order to the castle; which, however, was in all respects untenable. Nevertheless, they repulsed the assailants in their first attack, even after the gate was burst open; and supplied the want of shot with stones and rubbish. At length, the colonel and his troops were obliged to surrender, on condition that they should not be sent prisoners to France, but be ransomed. The enemy, after this exploit, did not presume to advance farther into the country; a step which indeed they could not have taken, with any regard to their own safety: and the defeat of Conflans, which they had also learned, obliged them to reembark with some precipitation, after having laid Carrickfergus under moderate contribution.

The fate they escaped on shore, they soon met with at sea. Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinsale, was informed by a dispatch, that three of the enemy's ships lay at anchor in the bay of Carrickfergus; and thither he immediately shaped his course in the ship *Æolus*, accompanied by the *Pallas* and



and Brilliant, under the command of the captains Clements and Logie. On February the 28th they descried the enemy, and gave chase, in sight of the Isle of Man; and about nine in the morning captain Elliot, in his own ship, engaged the Belleisle, commanded by Thuror, although considerably his superior in strength of men, number of guns, and weight of metal. In a few minutes his consorts were also engaged with the other two ships of the enemy. After a warm action maintained with great spirit on all sides for an hour and a half, in which Thuror was killed; captain Elliot's lieutenant boarded the Belleisle, and, striking her colours with his own hand, the commander submitted: his example was immediately followed by the other French captains; and the English commodore, taking possession of his prizes, conveyed them into the bay of Ramsay in the Isle of Man, that their damage might be repaired. The name of Thuror was become terrible to all the trading sea-ports of Britain and Ireland; and therefore the defeat and capture of his squadron were celebrated with as hearty rejoicings, as the most important victory could have produced.

The incidents of the war were much more important and decisive in America. Brigadier-general Murray had been left to command the garrison of Quebec, amounting to about 6000 men; a strong squadron of ships was stationed at Halifax in Nova Scotia, under the direction of lord Colvil, an able and experienced officer, who had instructions to revisit Quebec in the beginning of summer, as soon as the river St. Laurence should be navigable: and general Amherst, the commander in chief of the forces in America, wintered in New York, that he might be at hand to assemble his troops in the spring, and recommence his operations for the entire reduction of Canada. The garrison, however, within the walls of Quebec, suffered greatly from the excessive cold in the winter, and the want of vegetables and fresh provision,

vision, insomuch that, before the end of April, 1000 foldiers were dead of the scurvy, and twice that number rendered unfit for service. Such was the situation of the garrison, when Mr. Murray received undoubted intelligence, that the French commander, the chevalier de Levis, was employed in assembling his army, which had been cantoned in the neighbourhood of Montreal; and determined to undertake the siege of Quebec, whenever the river St. Laurence should be so clear of ice, that he might use his four frigates, and other vessels, by means of which he was entirely master of the river.

The French accordingly landed, and Mr. Murray was defeated in an engagement with them. The French therefore formed the siege of the place.

Lord Colvil had sailed from Halifax, with the fleet under his command, but was retarded in his passage by thick fogs, contrary winds, and great shoals of ice floating down the river. Commodore Swanton, who had sailed from England with a small reinforcement, arrived about the beginning of May at the Isle of Bec, in the river St. Laurence; where, with two ships, he purposed to wait for the rest of his squadron, which had separated from him in the passage: but one of these, the *Lowestoffe*, commanded by captain Deane, had entered the harbour of Quebec on the 9th day of May, and communicated to the governor the joyful news that the squadron was arrived in the river. Commodore Swanton no sooner received intimation that Quebec was besieged, than he sailed up the river with all possible expedition, and anchored above Point Levi. The brigadier expressing an earnest desire, that the French squadron above the town might be removed, the commodore ordered captain Schomberg of the *Diana*, and captain Deane of the *Lowestoffe*, to slip their cables early next morning, and attack the enemy's fleet, consisting of two frigates, two armed ships, and a good number of smaller vessels. They were no sooner in motion than the  
French

French ships fled in the utmost disorder. One of their frigates was driven on the rocks above Cape Diamond; the other ran ashore, and was burned at Point au Tremble, about ten leagues above the town; and all the other vessels were taken or destroyed.

The enemy were so confounded and dispirited by this disaster, and the certain information that a strong English fleet was already in the river of St. Laurence, that in the following night they raised the siege of Quebec, and retreated with great precipitation. The reduction of Montreal followed soon after.

The French ministry had attempted to succour Montreal, by equipping a considerable number of storeships, and sending them out in the spring under convoy of a frigate; but as their officers understood that the British squadron had sailed up the river St. Laurence before their arrival, they took shelter in the bay of Chaleurs on the coast of Acadia, where they did not long remain unmolested. Captain Byron, who commanded the ships of war that were left at Louisbourg, having received intelligence of them, sailed thither with his squadron, and found them at anchor. The whole fleet consisted of one frigate, two large store-ships, and nineteen sail of smaller vessels, the greater part of which had been taken from the merchants of Great Britain: all these were destroyed, together with two batteries which had been raised for their protection. The French town, consisting of 200 houses, was demolished, and the settlement totally ruined.

The conquest of Canada being atchieved, nothing now remained to be done in North America, except the demolition of the fortifications of Louisbourg on the island of Cape Breton; for which purpose, some able engineers had been sent from England with the ships commanded by captain Byron. By means of mines artfully disposed and well constructed, the fortifications were reduced to a heap of rubbish; the

glacis was levelled, and the ditches were filled. All the artillery, ammunition, and implements of war, were conveyed to Halifax; but the barracks were repaired so as to accommodate 300 men occasionally; and the hospital, with the private houses, were left standing.

Rear-admiral Holmes, who commanded at sea, in the West Indies, took every precaution to secure the island of Jamaica from insult or invasion, and also contrived schemes for annoying the enemy. Having, in the month of October, received intelligence that five French frigates were equipped at Cape Francois on the island of Hispaniola, in order to convoy a fleet of merchant-ships to Europe, he stationed the ships under his command in such a manner as was most likely to intercept this fleet: and by the prudent disposition of the admiral, supported by the gallantry of his captains, two large frigates of the enemy were taken, viz. the *Sirenne* and the *Valeur*; and three destroyed.

The spirit of the officers was happily supported by an uncommon exertion of courage in the men, who cheerfully engaged in the most dangerous enterprizes. Immediately after the capture of the French frigates, eight of the enemy's privateers were destroyed or brought into Jamaica.

The same activity and resolution distinguished the captains and officers belonging to the squadron commanded by Sir James Douglas off the Leeward islands. In the month of September, the captains O'Brien and Taylor, of the ships *Temple* and *Griffin*, being on a joint cruise off the islands Granadas, received intelligence that the *Virgin*, formerly a British sloop of war, which had been taken by the enemy, then lay at anchor, together with three privateers, under protection of three forts on the island; he sailed thither in order to attack them; and the enterprize was crowned with success. After a warm engagement, that lasted several hours, the enemy's batteries were demolished,  
and



and the English captains took possession of the four prizes. They afterward entered another harbour of that island, having first demolished another fort; and carried off three more prizes. In their return to Antigua, they fell in with thirteen ships bound to Martinique with provisions, and took them all without resistance. About the same time, eight or nine privateers were taken by the ships which commodore Douglas employed in cruising round the island of Guadaloupe; so that the British commerce in those seas flourished under his care and protection.

No action of importance was in the course of this year achieved by the naval forces of Great Britain in the seas of Europe. A powerful squadron still remained in the bay of Quiberon, in order to amuse and employ a body of French forces on that part of the coast; and interrupt the navigation of the enemy: though the principal aim of this armament seems to have been to watch and detain the few French ships, which had run into the river Villaine, after the defeat of Conflans; an object the importance of which will doubtless astonish posterity.

Admiral Rodney still maintained his former station off the coast of Havre de Grace, to observe what should pass at the mouth of the Seine. In the month of July, while he hovered in this neighbourhood, five large flat-bottomed boats loaded with cannon and shot, set sail from Harfleur in the middle of the day, with their colours flying, as if they had set the English squadron at defiance; for the walls of Havre de Grace, and even the adjacent hills were covered with spectators, assembled to behold the issue of this adventure. Having reached the river of Caen, they stood backward and forward upon the shoals, intending to amuse Mr. Rodney till night, and then proceed under cover of the darkness. He perceived their drift, and gave directions to his small vessels as soon as day-light failed, to make all the sail they could to cut off the enemy's retreat; while he himself stood

stood with the larger ships to the steep coast of Port Bassin. The scheme succeeded to his wish. The enemy, seeing their retreat cut off, ran ashore at Port Bassin, where the admiral destroyed them, together with the small fort which had been erected for the defence of this harbour. Each of those vessels was 100 feet in length, capable of containing 400 men for a short passage. What their destination was, we cannot pretend to determine: but the French had provided a great number of these transports; for ten escaped into the river Orne leading to Caen; and in consequence of this disaster 100 were unloaded and sent up again to Rouen. The cutters belonging to Mr. Rodney's squadron scoured the coast toward Dieppe, where a considerable fishery was carried on, and where they took or destroyed near 40 vessels of considerable burden.

Of the domestic transactions relating to the war, the most considerable was the equipment of a powerful armament destined for some secret expedition. The troops were actually embarked with a great train of artillery; and the eyes of the whole nation were attentively fixed upon this armament, which could not have been prepared without incurring a prodigious expence. Notwithstanding these preparations, the whole summer was spent in idleness and inaction; and at the end of the season the undertaking was laid aside.

We shall now turn our attention to the progress of the British arms in the East Indies. Colonel Coote, after having defeated the French general Lally in the field, and reduced divers of the enemy's settlements on the coast of Coromandel, at length cooped them up within the walls of Pondicherry, the principal seat of the French East India company. In the month of October admiral Stevens sailed from Trincamaley with all his squadron, in order to its being refitted, except five sail of the line, which he left under the command of captain Haldane, to block up Pondicherry by sea,  
while

while Mr. Coote should carry on his operations by land. By this disposition, and the vigilance of the British officers, the place was so hampered as to be greatly distressed for want of provisions, even before the siege could be undertaken in form; for the rainy season rendered all regular approaches impracticable. Lally made a gallant defence, and had he been properly supplied with provision, the conquest of the place would not have been so easily atchieved. He was obliged, however, to surrender the place at discretion.

By the reduction of Pondicherry the French interest was annihilated on the coast of Coromandel, and therefore it was of the utmost importance to the British nation. It may be doubted, however, whether colonel Coote, with all his spirit, vigilance, and military talents, could have succeeded in this enterprize, without the assistance of the squadron, which co-operated with him by sea, and effectually excluded all succours from the besieged. It must be owned, for the honour of the service, that no incident interrupted the good understanding which was maintained between the land and sea officers; who vied with each other in contributing their utmost efforts toward the success of the expedition.

While the arms of great Britain still prospered in every effort tending to the real interest of the nation, an event happened which, for a moment, obscured the splendour of her triumphs. On the 25th day of October, 1760, George II. king of Great Britain, without any previous disorder, died suddenly in his palace at Kensington; at the age of seventy-seven, after a long reign of thirty-three years, distinguished by a variety of important events, and chequered with a vicissitude of character and fortune. He loved war as a soldier; he studied it as a science; and corresponded on the subject with some of the greatest officers whom Germany had produced. The extent of his understanding, and the splendour of his virtue, we

shall not presume to ascertain, nor attempt to display. With respect to his government, it very seldom deviated from the institutions of law; encroached upon private property; or interfered with the common administration of justice. The circumstances that chiefly mark his public character, were a predilection for his native country, and a close attention to the political interests of the Germanic body: points and principles to which he adhered invincibly.

We postpone giving the state of the navy at this period; proposing to give a particular list of the British navy as it stood at the ensuing peace.

The demise of the crown was no sooner signified to the secretaries of state, than Mr. Pitt repaired to Kew, and communicated these tidings to his new sovereign George III. grandson to the late king, who thus ascended the throne in the 23d year of his age. How much soever the new king might have disapproved of those measures which had involved the nation in such an expensive war on the continent of Europe, affairs were so situated, that he could not abruptly renounce that system of politics, with any regard to the dignity of his crown, or to the honour of the public faith, which was in some measure engaged to support the German allies of Great Britain. With the crown he inherited a war, which he thought it his duty to prosecute with vigour, until it could be terminated by a general peace; in which the honour and advantage of the nation might be equally consulted. It was therefore agreed, that the armament then preparing at Portsmouth should proceed on the expedition for which it was originally intended; but it was countermanded in the sequel.

The chief command of the army in Great Britain rested in the person of lord Ligonier. The German army in Westphalia, payed by England, remained under the auspices of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick: the marquis of Granby commanded the British forces on that service; and the direction of the troops in  
Ame-



America was still retained by Sir Jeffery Amherst. Neither was any material change produced in the disposition of the different squadrons which constituted the navy of Great Britain. Admiral Holborne's flag continued flying at Spithead. Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy were stationed in the bay of Quiberon. Sir Charles Saunders kept the sea in the Mediterranean. The rear-admirals Stevens and Cornish commanded one squadron in the East Indies; rear-admiral Holmes another at Jamaica; Sir James Douglas a third at the Leeward Islands; Lord Colvil a fourth at Halifax in Nova Scotia. These were stationary; but other squadrons were equipped occasionally, under different commanders; beside the single ships that cruised in and about the Channel, and those that were stationed to protect the trade of Great Britain in different parts of the world.

Even from the beginning of winter, the single ships that cruised in the Channel were conducted with such care and dexterity, that they made prize of a great number of French privateers; a circumstance that evinced their own vigilance and the enemy's activity. In the month of January, captain Elphinston, of the *Richmond*, of 32 guns, fell in with the *Felicite*, a French frigate, of the same force, off the coast of Holland: a severe engagement began about ten in the morning, near Gravesande, about eight miles from the Hague, to which place the prince of Orange, general Yorke the British envoy, and the count d'Affry the French ambassador, repaired, with a great multitude of people, to behold the conflict. About noon both ships ran ashore; nevertheless the action was still maintained, until the enemy deserted their quarters: they afterward abandoned the ship, which was entirely destroyed, after having lost their captain and about 100 men, who fell in the dispute. The *Richmond* soon floated, without any damage; and the victory cost but three men killed, and thirteen wounded. The French

court loudly exclaimed against this attack as a violation of the Dutch neutrality, and demanded signal satisfaction for the insult and damage they had sustained. Accordingly the States General made some remonstrances to the court of London, which found means to remove all cause of misunderstanding on this subject. The *Felicite* was bound for Martinique, with a valuable cargo; in company with another frigate of the same force, which suffered shipwreck on the coast of Dunkirk.

In the course of the same month, captain Hood, in the *Minerva* frigate, cruising in the chops of the channel, descried a great ship of two decks steering to the westward, and found it to be the *Warwick*, an English ship, which had carried sixty cannon, and been taken by the enemy. She was now mounted with thirty-five guns, and commanded by Mr. le Verger de Belair, with a commission from the French king. Her crew amounted to about 300 men, including a detachment of soldiers; and he was bound to Pondicherry in the East Indies. Captain Hood, notwithstanding her superior size, attacked her without hesitation, and was very warmly received. In the issue the captain of the *Warwick* struck his colours, having lost about 14 men killed outright, beside 35 wounded. The loss in number of men was equal on board the *Minerva*, and all her masts went by the board: nevertheless the prize was brought in triumph to Spithead. In the progress of the same cruise, captain Hood had also taken the *Ecurneil* privateer from Bayonne, of 14 guns, and 122 men.

In March, another French ship, called the *Entreprenant*, pierced for 44 guns, but mounted with 26 only, having 200 men on board, and a rich cargo, bound for St. Domingo, was encountered near the Land's-end by the *Vengeance* frigate of 26 guns, commanded by captain Nightingale. The action was maintained on both sides with uncommon fury, until the *Vengeance* being set on fire by the enemy's wadding;

ding; the French resolved to take advantage of the confusion produced by this accident, and, running their boltsprit upon the taffaril of the English frigate, attempted to board her. In this design, however, they miscarried, through the courage and activity of captain Nightingale; who found means to disengage himself, and sheered off to repair his rigging, which had greatly suffered in the engagement. The ship was no sooner in proper condition, than he ranged up again close to the enemy, and renewed the contest, which lasted a full hour: then the *Entreprenant* bore away. Captain Nightingale, though a second time disabled in his masts and rigging, wore ship, ran within pistol-shot, and began a third vigorous attack, which lasted an hour and a half before the enemy called for quarter. Fifteen of their men were killed, and about twice that number wounded. The victors lost about half as many. The issue of all these engagements between single ships, proves, to demonstration, that the French mariners neither work their ships nor manage their artillery with that skill and dexterity which appear in the English navy: a circumstance the more remarkable, as all the French seamen are regularly taught the practical part of gunnery; whereas no such pains are taken with the sailors of Great Britain.

In April, another French frigate, called the *Comete*, of 32 guns, and 250 men, just sailed from Brest, was taken to the westward of Ushant by the *Bedford*, captain Deane. About the same period, and near the same place, a fourth frigate of the enemy, called the *Pheasant*, manned with 125 mariners, was taken by captain Brograve, of the *Albany* sloop; whose victory was the cheaper, as the crew of the *Pheasant* had thrown 14 of her guns over-board during the chase. In the course of the same month, a large East India ship, fitted out from France, with 28 guns, and 350 men, fell in with the *Hero* and the *Venus*,

Venus, commanded by the captains Fortescue and Harrison, and were taken without opposition.

The cruizers belonging to the squadron commanded by vice-admiral Saunders in the Mediterranean, were distinguished by the same spirit of enterprize and activity. In the beginning of this very month, the *Oriflamme*, a French ship of 40 guns, being off Cape Tres Foreas, was taken by the *Isis*, captain Wheeler, who being unfortunately killed in the beginning of the action, the command devolved to lieutenant Cunningham: she was brought into the bay of Gibraltar. In July another exploit was performed by a small detachment from the squadron commanded by the same admiral. Captain Proby, in the *Thunderer*, together with the *Modeste*, *Thetis* and *Favourite* sloop, being ordered to cruise upon the coast of Spain with a view to intercept the *Achilles* and *Bouffon*, two French ships of war, which lay in the harbour of Cadiz; they at length ventured to come forth, and were descried by the British cruizers. About midnight, the *Thunderer* came up with the *Achilles*, which struck, after a warm engagement of half an hour. The *Thetis* engaged the *Bouffon*, and the fire was maintained on both sides with great vivacity for half an hour, when the *Modeste* ranging up, and firing a few guns, the French captain submitted. His ship and her consort suffered considerably, both in their crews and rigging; nevertheless, the victors carried them safely into the bay of Gibraltar.

One of the most remarkable and shining actions that distinguished this war, and proved, beyond all contradiction, the superiority which the English claimed over the French in point of naval discipline, was an incident which we shall now relate. August 10th, captain Faulkner of the *Bellona*, a ship of the line, and captain Logie of the *Brilliant*, a frigate, sailed from the Tagus for England, having on board a considerable sum of money for the merchants of London.

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In the afternoon, being then off Vigo, they discovered three sail of ships standing in for the land, one of the line of battle, and two frigates. They no sooner descried captain Faulkner, than they bore down upon him, until within the distance of seven miles, when, seeing the Bellona and a frigate through the magnifying medium of a hazy atmosphere, they mistook them both for two-decked ships, and dreading the issue of an engagement, resolved to avoid the encounter. For this purpose, they suddenly wore round, filled their sails, and crowded away. Captain Faulkner, being by this time convinced of their size, and conjecturing, from the intelligence he had received, that the large ship was the Courageux (in which particular he was not mistaken) he hoisted all the canvas he could carry, and gave chase until sunset; when one of the French frigates hauling out in the offing, he displayed a signal to the Brilliant to pursue in that direction, and his order was immediately obeyed. They kept sight of the enemy during the whole night, and at sun-rise had gained but about two miles upon them in a chase of fourteen hours; so that the French commodore might have still avoided an engagement for the whole day, and enjoyed the chance of escaping in the darkness of the succeeding night; but he no longer declined the action. The air being perfectly serene, he now perceived that one of the English ships was a frigate; and the Bellona herself which was one of the best constituted ships in the English navy, lay so flush in the water as to appear at a distance considerably smaller than she really was. The French commodore, therefore, hoisted a signal for his two frigates to close with and engage the Brilliant. At the same time he wore round, and stood for the Bellona under his topsails; while captain Faulkner advanced toward her with an easy sail, and ordered his quarters to be manned. The sea was undulated by a gentle breeze, which facilitated the working of the ships, and at the same time per-

mitted the full use of their heavy artillery. The two ships were equal in burden, in number of guns, and in weight of metal. The crew on board the *Courageux* amounted to 700 men, able to stand to their quarters; and they were commanded by M. du Guy Lambert, an officer of approved valour and ability. The *Bellona's* compliment consisted of 550 chosen men, accustomed to discipline, and inured to service. All the officers were gentlemen of known merit, and the commander had on many occasions distinguished himself by his bravery and conduct. The fire on both sides was suspended till they were within musket-shot of each other, and then the engagement began with a dreadful discharge of fire-arms and artillery. In less than nine minutes, all the *Bellona's* braces, bowlings, shrouds, and rigging, were cut and shattered by the shot, and the mizen-mast fell over the stern, with all the men on the round-top; who, nevertheless, saved their lives, by clambering into the port-holes of the gun-room. Captain Faulkner, apprehensive that the enemy would seize the opportunity of his being disabled, and endeavour to escape, gave orders for immediate boarding; an attempt which the position of the two ships soon rendered altogether impracticable. The *Courageux* was now falling athwart the fore-foot, or bows of the *Bellona*, in which case the English ship must have been raked fore and aft with great execution. The haul-yards, and most of the other ropes by which the *Bellona* could be worked, were already shot away. Captain Faulkner, however, with the assistance of his master, made use of the studding sails with such dexterity, as to ware the ship quite round, and fall upon the opposite quarter of the *Courageux*. His presence of mind and activity in this delicate situation, were not more admirable than the discipline and dispatch of his officers and men, who, perceiving this change of their situation, flew to the guns on the other side, now opposed to the enemy, from whence

whence they poured in a most terrible discharge, and maintained it without intermission or abatement. Every shot took place, and bore destruction along with it. The sides of the *Courageux* were shattered and torn by every successive broadside, and her decks were strewed with carnage. About twenty minutes did the enemy sustain the havoc made by this battery, so incessantly plied and so fatally directed. At length it became so intolerable, that the French ensign was hauled down: the rage of battle ceased; the English mariners had left their quarters, and the officers congratulated each other on the success of the day. At this juncture, a shot being unexpectedly fired from the lower tire of the *Courageux*, the British seamen ran to their quarters, and, without orders, poured in two broadsides upon the enemy, who now called for quarter, and an end was put to the engagement. The damage done to the rigging of the *Bellona* was considerable; but she suffered very little in the hull, and the number of the killed and wounded did not exceed forty. The case was very different with the *Courageux*, which now appeared like a wreck upon the water. Nothing was seen standing but her foremast and bolt-sprit; large breaches were made in her sides; her decks were torn up in several parts; many of her guns were dismounted; and her quarters filled with the mangled bodies of the dying and the dead. Above 220 were killed outright, and half that number was brought ashore wounded to Lisbon, to which place the prize was conveyed. Captain Faulkner was not more commendable for his gallantry in the action, than for the humanity and politeness with which he treated his prisoners; whose grateful acknowledgment, and unsolicited applause, constitute the fairest testimony that a man of honour can enjoy. Nor ought captain Logie of the *Brilliant* to be forgotten, whose valour and dexterity, in a great measure, contributed to the success of his commodore. The two English captains

joined in a liberal subscription with the British factory at Lisbon, for the relief of the wounded French prisoners, who, without this generous interposition, must have starved, as no provision was made by their sovereign.

In the West Indies, rear-admiral Holmes, commander of the squadron at Jamaica, planned his cruizes with equal judgment and success. Having received intelligence in the beginning of June, that several ships of war belonging to the enemy had sailed from Port Louis, and in particular, that the *St. Anne* had just quitted Port au Prince; he forthwith made such a disposition of his squadron as was most likely to intercept them. He fell in with and took the *St. Anne*, a beautiful new ship, pierced for 64 cannon, but mounting only 40, manned with near 400 mariners and foldiers; and loaded with a rich cargo of coffee, indigo, and sugar. Nor was the squadron stationed off the Leeward Islands, under the direction of Sir James Douglas, less alert and effectual in protecting the British traders, and scouring those seas of the Martinico privateers, of which he took a great number.

The island of Dominique, which the French had settled and put in a posture of defence, was attacked and reduced by a small body of troops, commanded by lord Rollo, and conveyed thither from Guadalupe by Sir James Douglas, with four ships of the line, and some frigates.

According to the laudable custom of these latter times, a powerful squadron had been stationed all the winter in the bay of Quiberon, under the command of Sir Edward Hawke and Sir Charles Hardy. In January, they took two small French frigates, bound to the coast of Guinea, and a few merchant-ships of little value; and in March, the two admirals returned to Spithead: but another squadron was afterward sent to occupy the same station. In July, while the English were employed in demolishing the fortifications

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on the isle of Aix, the great ships that protected this service were attacked by a French armament from the Charante, consisting of six prames\*, a few row-gallies, and a great number of launches crouded with men. They dropped down with the ebb, and placing themselves between the isle of d'Enet and Fort Fouras, played upon the English ships in Aix road, with 12 mortars, and 70 large cannon: but they met with such a warm reception from the British squadron, that in a few hours they retreated to their former station, where the water was too shallow for the English ships to return the attack.

These were part of that armament which had loitered in the preceding year at Spithead, until the season for action was elapsed. It had been a favourite scheme of the minister, to reduce the island of Belleisle on the coast of Brittany, and this was the aim of the expedition. Belleisle lies about four leagues from the point of Quiberon, about half way between Port Louis and the mouth of the Loire. It extends about six leagues in length, and little more than two in breadth; contains a pretty large town, called Palais, fortified with a citadel, beside a good number of villages: and the whole number of inhabitants, exclusive of the garrison, may amount to 6000, chiefly maintained by the fishery of pilchards. It was supposed the reduction of this island would be easily atchieved, and the conquest attended with manifold advantages.

The squadron equipped for this enterprize consisted of ten ships of the line, several frigates, two fireships, and two bomb-ketches, commanded by commodore Kepple, brother to the earl of Albemarle, a gallant officer, who had signalized himself on several occasions, in the course of this and the last

\* A prame is a long broad vessel of two decks, mounted with 26 large cannon below, and 3 mortars above. They are rigged like ketches, and draw very little water.

war. The whole armament came to anchor in the great road of Belleisle April 7th, where a disposition was made for landing the forces. This attempt failed; with the loss of near 500 men, and about 50 mariners. Notwithstanding this unfavourable beginning, another scheme was laid, and the execution of it crowned with success. On the 22d day of the month in the morning, the troops were disposed in the flat-bottomed boats, and rowed to different parts of the island, as if they intended to land in different places: thus the attention of the enemy was distracted in such a manner, that they knew not where to expect the descent, and were obliged to divide their forces at random. Mean while brigadier Lambert pitched upon the rocky point of Lomaria, where captain Paterson, at the head of Beauclerk's grenadiers, and captain Murray, with a detachment of marines, climbed the precipice with astonishing intrepidity, and sustained the fire of a strong body of the enemy, until they were supported by the rest of the English troops. Then the French abandoned their batteries, and retired with precipitation: but this advantage was not gained without bloodshed. The landing was followed by the reduction of the citadel. A conquest which could in no respect be considered as a compensation for the expence of the armament, and the lives of about 2000 men, who might have been much better employed.

A negociation was now entered into toward a peace, but the intervention of some Spanish claims, which led to the discovery of a private family-compact entered into between France and Spain, frustrated it; and Mr. Pitt, disgusted that his advice for rigorous measures with Spain was disapproved, resigned his posts.

A plan for the conquest of Martinique was already formed. In the month of October, rear-admiral Rodney sailed from England with a squadron of ships, having under convoy a number of transports, with  
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four battalions from Belleisle, to join at Barbadoes a strong body of forces from North America, together with some regiments and volunteers from Guadalupe and the Leeward Islands; thence to proceed, in conjunction with the fleet already on that station, to the execution of the projected invasion. This was doubtless an object of great importance, and might have been easily accomplished in the first attempt under the conduct of general Hopson; but now the enterprize was encumbered by many difficulties. The island was strengthened with new fortifications, a strong body of troops, a numerous regulated militia, experienced officers, and plenty of provision, artillery, and ammunition.

War against Spain was declared January 4th, 1762.

The armament from North America and England, under the command of major-general Monckton and rear-admiral Rodney, amounting to 18 battalions, and as many ships of the line, beside frigates, bombs, and fireships; which having rendezvoused at Barbadoes in the month of December, proceeded from thence and anchored in St. Anne's Bay, in the eastern part of Martinique, after the ships of war had silenced some batteries which the enemy had erected on that part of the coast. In the course of this service, the *Raisonable*, a ship of the line, was, by the ignorance of the pilot, run upon a reef of rocks, from whence she could not be disengaged, though the men were saved, together with her stores and artillery.

The troops being landed at Cas des Navires, and reinforced with two battalions of marines, which were spared from the squadron, the general resolved to besiege the town of Fort-Royal; which was prosecuted with great bravery. The governor of the citadel, perceiving the English employed in erecting batteries on the different heights by which he was commanded, ordered the chamade to be beat, and surrendered the place by capitulation, on the 4th of February. The

most remarkable circumstance of this enterprize was the surprising boldness and alacrity of the seamen, who, by force of arm, drew a number of heavy mortars and ships cannon up the steepest mountains to a considerable distance from the sea, and across the enemy's line of fire, to which they exposed themselves with amazing indifference. Fourteen French privateers were found in the harbour of Port Royal; and a much greater number, from other parts of the island, were delivered up to admiral Rodney, in consequence of the capitulation with the inhabitants, who, in all other respects, were very favourably treated.

The French were now expelled from all their settlements in North America, except that of Louisiana, which was deemed an object of little or no importance: the seat of war was transferred from that continent to the French islands, the conquest of which we have already described; and it was now resolved to make a vigorous impression upon Spain, not only by attempting the reduction of the Havana, which may be considered as the key of the bay of Mexico; but also by making a descent on the island of Manilla, in the East Indies, a country in which the French had now nothing left to be conquered.

The first of these expeditions was entrusted to the conduct of the earl of Albemarle, commander of the land-forces, recommended for this service by the duke of Cumberland, under whose auspices he had been formed to war; and the ships of war, destined to co-operate in the attack, were commanded by admiral Sir George Pococke, who had already distinguished himself by his gallantry in the East Indies: his second was Mr. Keppel, brother to the earl, an able officer, who had reduced the Isle of Goree, on the coast of Africa. They sailed from Portsmouth in the beginning of March; and reached the place of their destination without accident or obstruction. Their proceedings shall be particularized in their proper place.

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The design against Manilla was executed by rear-admiral Cornish, which we shall recount.

For the defence of the British coast, and in order to answer the emergencies of war, a powerful squadron was kept in readiness at Spithead, under the direction of Sir Edward Hawke; another rode at anchor in the Downs, under the command of rear-admiral Moore; and from these two were occasionally detached into the channel, and all around the coasts of the island, a number of light cruizers, which acted with such vigilance and activity, that not a ship could venture from any of the French sea-ports, without running the most imminent risque of being taken.

Sir Charles Saunders was reinforced in such a manner, as enabled him to give law in the Mediterranean, and either to prevent a junction of the French and Spanish fleets, or, if that should be found impracticable, to give them battle when joined. Lord Colville was continued in the command of the squadron at Halifax in Nova Scotia, in order to protect the coast of North America, and the new conquests, in the gulph and river of St. Laurence. Sir James Douglas still commanded the ships of war appointed for the defence of the Leeward Islands; and captain Forrest, since the death of admiral Holmes, directed the small squadron at Jamaica. Such was the general disposition for the offensive as well as the defensive measures of the campaign; and the greatest enemies of the ministry must allow it was planned with sagacity, and maintained with resolution.

A fruitless attempt had been made by the enemy to burn the British ships of war at anchor in the road of Basque. They prepared three fire-vessels, which being chained together, were towed out of the port, and set on fire with a strong breeze that blew directly on the English squadron. This attempt, however, was made with hurry and trepidation; and the wind luckily shifting, drove them clear of the ships

ships they were intended to destroy. They continued burning for some time, after having blown up with a terrible explosion, and every person on board perished.

Captain Gambier, of the *Burford*, arrived at Plymouth in April with a large French East India ship from the Isle of Bourbon, laden with coffee and pepper, which had been taken by one of Sir George Pococke's squadron. In May, two British frigates, cruising off Cape St. Vincent, made prize of the *Hermione*, a Spanish register ship, bound from Lima to Cadiz, loaded with treasure and valuable effects, by which all the captors were enriched. Her cargo amounted to about one million sterling, which was considerably more than had ever before been taken in any one bottom: and the loss of so much treasure, in the beginning of such an expensive war, must have been a severe stroke on the court of Madrid. The prize was brought from Gibraltar to England, and the gold and silver being conveyed in covered waggon to London, was carried in procession to the bank; happening to arrive the same morning the prince of Wales was born, which was the 12th of August.

About the latter end of May, a French squadron, under the command of Mr. de Ternay, escaped from Brest in a fog. The French commander steered his course to Newfoundland, and entered the bay of Bulls, where he landed some troops without opposition. Having taken possession of an inconsiderable English settlement in that bay, they advanced to the town of St. John's, which being in no condition of defence, was surrendered upon capitulation. They also took the officers and crew of the *Gramont* sloop which was in the harbour, with several other vessels; and did considerable damage to the English fishers and settlers on different parts of the coast. The ministry were no sooner informed of this small check, which it was impossible either to foresee or prevent, than they

they took measures for retrieving the loss; and this petty triumph of the enemy was of very short duration. The armament fitted out in England for retaking Newfoundland, was rendered unnecessary by the vigilance and activity of Sir Jeffery Amherst and lord Colville, who commanded by land and sea in North America.

In September, the Hunter sloop of war, one of admiral Moore's cruizers, falling in with four Dutch merchant ships in the Channel, under convoy of a frigate of 36 guns, the English captain prepared to examine the lading of the Dutch vessels, when the commander of the frigate interposing, declared he would not suffer any such search to be made. The other insisted upon the examination, but being prevented by superior force, made a signal to the *Diana* and *Chester* ships of war, which happened to be in sight, and they advanced accordingly. After some expostulation, the Dutch captain continuing obstinate, the *Diana* fired a gun to bring him to, and he returned a whole broadside. An engagement immediately ensued, and was maintained with great vivacity for about fifteen minutes, when the Dutchman thought proper to strike his colours, having lost his own nose, and nine or ten men in the action. He was brought into the Downs, together with his convoy, which were found laden with contraband merchandize from Havre to Brest. The *Zephyr*, a French frigate of 32 guns, bound to Newfoundland, with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition, was also taken in the channel, by the *Lion* ship of war. In the beginning of November, a French ship of 20 guns, was taken by captain Ruthven, of the *Terpichore*, after a sharp action, in which he himself was wounded. The enemy lost likewise the *Oiseau*, another frigate of 26 guns, which fell in with captain Tonyn of the king's ship the *Brune*. A third French frigate, called the *Minerve*, was wrecked in the harbour of Villa Franca, through the pride, precipitation,

tion, and ignorance of her commander. She had, in company with four French ships of war, given chase to the Sheerness frigate, captain Clarke, from Gibraltar, who took refuge in the harbour of Villa Franca, and there anchored, the wind blowing fresh. He was immediately followed by the enemy, when the captain of the *Minerve*, actuated by an idle spirit of vanity and insolence, resolved to lie between him and the shore, and ran his ship upon the rocks that bound the eastern side of the harbour. On this melancholy occasion, captain Clarke, forgetting they were enemies, obeyed the dictates of humanity, by exerting himself for their relief. He sent his boats manned to their assistance, and actually saved the lives of the greater part of their company: an act of generous benevolence, for which he was thanked in person by the French commodore.

About the end of August, captain Hotham of the *Æolus*, chased two Spanish ships into the bay of Aviles, in the neighbourhood of Cape Pinas; and standing into the bay, came to an anchor in such a situation, as to bring his guns to bear, not only upon one of the ships, but also upon a small battery situated upon an eminence. After a short contest, both the battery and the ship were abandoned: but before captain Hotham could take possession of his prize, she ran aground, and bulging, was burned by the captors: the other escaped in the night. Captain Hotham afterward fell in with a French squadron, consisting of seven sail, between St. Andero and Bilbao, and kept company with them till the 16th, as far to the westward as Cape Finisterre, when he returned to his station. By a sloop from Bourdeaux, which he took, he understood that this squadron had a body of troops on board for St. Domingo.

The navy of France was by this time reduced to such a small number, that their ministry was obliged to send reinforcements to their settlements abroad in single ships; some of which were intercepted by the



British cruisers, particularly one transport, containing the best part of a regiment, designed to reinforce their colony of Louisiana, which had engaged a good share of their attention since the reduction of Canada.

The cruisers of Great Britain were not less alert in the seas of America. Captain Ourry of the *Actæon*, in the latitude of Tobago, took a large Spanish register ship, bound to Lagueira, laden with artillery, stores, and ammunition. A fleet of 25 sail of French merchant-ships, richly laden with sugar, coffee and indigo, took their departure from Cape François for Europe, under convoy of four frigates. Five of these vessels were surprised and taken in the night by some privateers of New York and Jamaica. Next day it was their misfortune to fall in with commodore Keppel, who made prize of their whole fleet and convoy, which were carried into the harbour of Port-Royal in Jamaica.

In the course of this war the French nation lost 37 ships of the line, and 55 frigates; of these the English took 18 capital ships of war, and 36 frigates; and destroyed 14 of the line, and 13 frigates; five large ships and six frigates they lost by accidents. On the other hand, the French took two, and destroyed three English frigates; and 13 capital British ships, and 14 frigates, were lost by accident. Of merchant ships belonging to Great Britain, the enemy took 812, from the commencement of the war to the cessation of arms.

In September, the honourable Augustus Hervey and captain Nugent, arrived in London with dispatches from the earl of Albermarle and sir George Pococke. We have already observed that the armament under the conduct of those two commanders had sailed from Portsmouth in March; and, according to the general opinion, was destined to act against the island of Cuba. They were joined by a detachment of the fleet from Martinique, under Sir James Douglas; and, in consequence of this junction, their whole

whole force consisted of 19 sail of the line, 18 smaller ships of war, and about 150 transports, having on board about 10,000 land forces and marines. Without accident or danger, on July 6th, the admiral lay to, about five leagues to the eastward of the Havanna, after having taken a Spanish frigate and a store-ship in the passage. Having issued directions to the masters of the transports, with respect to the disembarkation of the army, and left commodore Keppel to superintend this service, with six sail of the line and some frigates, he bore away with the rest of the fleet, and ran down off the harbour, where he descried 12 Spanish ships of the line, with several trading vessels. Next morning he embarked his marines in boats, and made a shew of landing about four miles to the westward of the Havanna; while the earl of Albemarle landed with the whole army, between the rivers Bocanao and Coxemar, about six miles to the eastward of the Moro Castle, which was the enemy's chief fortrefs for the defence of the town and harbour. Three bomb-vessels being anchored in shore, began to throw shells into the town. Though this invasion of the English was altogether unexpected, the place being strongly fortified and well supplied, preparations were instantly made for a vigorous defence, by Don Juan de Prado, governor of the city, and the marquis del.Real, commodore of the shipping; assisted by the counsels and experience of the viceroy of Peru and the governor of Carthagena, who happened to be at the Havanna, in the way to or from their respective governments. The attack of the Moro was commanded by major-general Keppel, brother to the earl of Albemarle; and the chief engineer was Mr. Mackellar, who displayed uncommon abilities at the siege of Louisbourg, and on many other occasions both in this and the last war.

Fascines, stores, and artillery, being landed from the ships with great expedition by the seamen, the engineers began to erect batteries of bombs and cannon,

non, while a body of pioneers were employed to cut parallels in the wood, and form a line with fascines to secure the guards from the fire of the enemy, which began to be very troublesome. About 1000 chosen men of the enemy, with a detachment of armed negroes and mulattoes, landed on two divisions to the right and left of the Moro, in order to destroy the works of the besiegers: but they were repulsed by the piquets and advanced posts, and retreated in great confusion, with the loss of 200 men, killed and taken.

The admiral's cruizers, who scoured the sea round the whole island, brought in the Venganza frigate of 26 guns, the Marté of 18, and a schooner, laden with coffee. Sir James Douglas, who had parted from the admiral immediately after their junction, and steered his course to Jamaica, in a single ship, now arrived off the Havanna, having under his convoy a fleet of merchant ships bound for England.

The parapet of Fort Moro was all of masonry; the ditch of the front attacked, was seventy feet deep from the edge of the counterscarp, and more than forty feet of that depth sunk in the rock. The soil of the country in the neighbourhood, being very thin, afforded little earth; and as it was thought necessary to carry on the approaches by sap, this method might have been found altogether impracticable, had not Sir James supplied the engineers with cotton bags, from some ships of his convoy, which were partly loaded with this commodity. Mean while, the enemy made such a vigorous defence, that the siege was protracted beyond expectation; a considerable delay was likewise occasioned by an unlucky accident. On July 3d, the principal battery of the besiegers, chiefly constructed of timber and fascines, being dried by the heat of the weather and the continual cannonade, took fire, and the flames raged with such violence, that almost the whole work was consumed. The besiegers were subjected to various

other discouragements. Epidemical distempers, such as never fail to attack the natives of Britain who visit those countries, began to make great havock, both in the army and the navy. These were rendered more fatal by the want of necessaries and refreshments. The provision was bad; and the troops were ill supplied with water. The great number of the sick rendered the duty more fatiguing to those that were well. In those warm climates, the human body being in a state of relaxation, is incapable of such a degree of labour as it can bear in more northern latitudes; and the men are subject to a species of dejection, which always augments the general mortality: this was now increased by the delay of the troops from North America, which they had long expected to no purpose.

On the 2d of August, the second division of the transports, with the troops from North America, arrived; and this reinforcement added fresh vigour to the operations of the siege. In a few days, the seamen and soldiers belonging to four of the American transports, which had been wrecked in the straits of Bahama, were brought off in five sloops, detached by the admiral on this service: but, at the same time, he received information that five other transports, having on board 350 soldiers of Anstruther's regiment, and 150 provincial troops, were taken by a French squadron, near the passage between Maya Guanna, and the North Caicos. All the rest of the troops, however, arrived in perfect health.

July 19th the besiegers took possession of the covered-way, before the point of the right bastion, and a new sap was begun at this lodgment. The only place by which the foot of the wall was accessible, happened to be a thin ridge of rock, left at the point of the bastion, to cover the extremity of the ditch, which would otherwise have been open to the sea. Along this ridge the miners passed, without cover, to the foot of the wall, where they made a lodgment with



with little loss. Mean while, they sunk a shaft without the covered-way, in order to form a mine for throwing the counterscarp into the ditch, should it be found necessary to fill it; and continued their former sap along the glacis. In the night of the 21st a sergeant and 12 men scaled the walls by surprise; but, the garrison being alarmed before they could be sustained, they were obliged to retreat with precipitation. Next day, at four in the morning, a sally was made from the town, by 1500 men, divided into three detachments, who attacked the besiegers in three different places, while a warm fire was kept up in their favour from the forts and their shipping in the harbour. After a warm dispute, which cost the English about fifty men killed or wounded, all their three parties were repulsed, and fled with such precipitation, that a considerable number was drowned in the hurry of their retreat. On the 30th day of the month, about two in the morning, a floating battery was towed out into the harbour, and fired with grape-shot and small arms into the ditch, though without any great interruption to the miners; and the close fire of the covering party soon compelled the enemy to retire.

In the afternoon, two mines were sprung by the besiegers, with such effect, that a practicable breach was made in the bastion; and orders were immediately given for the assault. The troops mounted with great intrepidity, and, forming on the top of the breach, drove the enemy from every part of the ramparts, after a short, though very warm, dispute; in which about 130 Spaniards were killed, including several officers of distinction. Don Louis de Velasco, governor of the fort, had distinguished himself from the beginning of the siege, by such activity and courage, as attracted the admiration and esteem even of his enemies. In this last action, he did all that could be expected from the most romantic gallantry; and fell by a shot he received in defending the colours of

Spain. The marquis Gonzales, who was second in command, likewise lost his life on this occasion. About 400 of the garrison threw down their arms, and were made prisoners: the rest were either killed or drowned, in attempting to escape to the Havanna. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, who commanded the attack, lost but 2 lieutenants, and 12 men.

The reduction of the Moro was not immediately attended with the surrender of the Havanna; on the contrary, the governor of the place now directed his chief fire against the fortrefs which they had lost. On the 11th of August, at day-break, about 45 cannon and 8 mortars began to play against the town and the Punta, which last was silenced before ten; in another hour the north bastion was almost disabled. About two in the afternoon, white flags were hung out all round the place, as well as on board the admiral's ship in the harbour; and, in a little time, a flag of truce arrived at the head quarters, with proposals of capitulation. The governor stickled hard to obtain permission to send the ships to Spain, and to have the harbour declared neutral: but neither of these points could be given up, and hostilities were ordered to be renewed; when the enemy thought proper to recede from their demands. By the capitulation, which was signed on the 13th, the inhabitants were secured in their private property, in the enjoyment of their own laws and religion; and next day the English troops took possession of this important conquest. As for the Spanish garrison, which amounted to about 900, including officers, they were indulged with the honours of war; and it was stipulated, that they and the sailors should be conveyed to Old Spain. In the progress of the siege, about 500 of the British troops, including 15 officers, were killed out-right or died of their wounds; and about 700, comprehending 39 officers, were cut off by distemper, which raged with redoubled violence after the reduction of the place.

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So much treasure intercepted by the English, first in the ship *Hermione*, and now in the island of Cuba, must have been a severe stroke upon the king of Spain: but the ruin of his navy was of much greater importance, and even that but a trifle in comparison to the loss of the Havanna; the port at which all their galleons and flota, loaded with the riches of Mexico and Peru, rendezvoused in their return to Old Spain; the port which absolutely commanded the only passage by which their ships could sail from the bay of Mexico to Europe. The reduction of the Havannah, therefore, was an acquisition, that not only distressed the Spaniards in the most essential manner, by stopping the sources of their wealth, but likewise opened to the conquerors an easy avenue to the centre of their American treasures. In no former war had Great Britain acquired such large sums at the expence of her enemies. Her success in the East Indies is said to have brought into England near six millions in treasure and jewels, since the commencement of hostilities: but every million thus acquired, she expended tenfold in the course of her subsidies and expeditions.

The loss of the Havanna, with the ships and treasure there taken, was not the only disaster sustained by Spain in the short course of the war, which she had so imprudently declared against Great Britain. She received another dangerous wound in the East Indies by the loss of Manilla, a considerable settlement on Luconia, the largest of the Philippine islands. This city is the centre of the Spanish trade, from whence two large ships are sent annually across the vast Pacific ocean to Acapulco, on the coast of Mexico, laden with the spices, stuffs, jewels, and other rich merchandize of India. (See our account of the Spanish American trade, in vol. 1. and Anson's voyage in vol. 3.)

Against this settlement, a plan of attack was formed at Madras, to be executed by part of the squadron of vice-admiral Cornish, and a few battalions under the command of brigadier-general Draper, who had

signalized himself in the defence of Madrafs, when it was besieged by the enemy. Vice-admiral Cornish supplied a strong battalion of seamen and marines; so that the whole force amounted to 2300 effective men.

The forces, with the stores and artillery, being embarked, the admiral sailed in two divisions about the beginning of August, and on the 23d of September anchored in the bay of Manilla, where they found the enemy but ill prepared for a siege, and much alarmed at this unexpected visit. The governor was the archbishop, who styles himself captain-general of the Philippine islands: but the garrison, amounting to 800 men of the royal regiment, was commanded by the marquis de Villa-Medina, a brigadier-general, who now reinforced it with a body of 10,000 Indians, from the province of Pampanga, a fierce and savage nation.

The admiral, having sounded the coast, discovered a convenient place for landing the troops, about two miles to the southward of Manilla. The proper dispositions being made, and the three frigates, *Argo*, *Sea-horse*, and *Seaford*, moored very near the shore, to cover the descent; three divisions of the forces were put on board the boats of the fleet, and landed at the church and village of Malata, not without some difficulty from a great surf that rolled on the beach. The enemy began to assemble in great numbers, both horse and infantry, to oppose the descent; but the frigates maintained such a warm fire of cannon, to the right and left, that they soon dispersed; and the general disembarked his troops without the loss of one man; while the Spanish garrison were employed in burning the suburbs of Manilla.

The governor had been already twice summoned to surrender, but returned a resolute refusal; and, indeed, if the valour of his troops had corresponded with the vigour of his declaration, he had but little to apprehend from an handful of enemies, who, far  
from



from being in a condition to invest the city on all sides, were obliged to confine their operations to one corner, leaving two thirds of it open to all manner of supplies. The front, which the general resolved to attack, was defended by the bastions of St. Diego, and St. Andrew; a ravelin, which covered the royal gate, a wet ditch, a covered way, and a glacis. The bastions were in good order, mounted with a great number of fine brass cannon: but the ravelin was not armed; nor the covered way in good repair: the glacis was too low, and the ditch was not carried round the capital of the bastion of St. Diego. The breadth of the ditch was about thirty yards, but the depth of water did not exceed five feet. It was founded by a detachment, headed by captain Fletcher, who begged leave to undertake this dangerous enterprise, which he achieved in the midst of the enemy's fire, with the loss of three men. Some straggling seamen having been murdered by the savages, the governor sent out a flag of truce on the 27th, to apologize for these barbarities, and request the release of his own nephew, who had been lately taken in the bay, by the boats of the fleet. Next day, while lieutenant Fryar, with a flag of truce, conducted this prisoner to the town, a detachment of the garrison, intermixed with Indians, sallied out to attack one of the posts of the besiegers: when the savages, without respecting the law of nations, or the sacred character of an officer, under the protection of a flag of truce, fell upon Mr. Fryar, with the most inhuman fury, murdered him on the spot, and mortally wounded the Spanish gentleman who endeavoured to protect his conductor. In their attack, they were soon repulsed by the British party that defended the post, who were so exasperated by their barbarity, that they gave them no quarter.

Meanwhile several mortars bombarded the town day and night, without ceasing; and the engineers were employed in erecting batteries to play upon their

works. At length the greater part of their Indians, discouraged by repeated defeats, returned to their own habitations. The fire from the garrison grew faint; and all their defences appeared to be in a ruinous condition. On the 5th of October, the fire of the besiegers was so well directed, that the breach became practicable; and it was hoped the garrison would demand a capitulation: but they seemed to be obstinate and sullen, without courage or activity: they had not exerted themselves in repairing their works; and now they neglected all means of obtaining favourable terms, without having taken the resolution to defend the breach; so that the English general made a disposition for storming the town.

On the 6th, at four o'clock in the morning, the troops destined for this service, filed off from their quarters, in small bodies, to avoid suspicion, and gradually assembling at the church of St. Jago, concealed themselves in the place of arms, and the parallel between the church and the battery. Meanwhile, major Barker maintained a close fire upon the works of the enemy, and those places where they might be lodged or intrenched; the mortars co-operating in the same service. At day-break, a large body of Spaniards was seen formed on the bastion of St. Andrew, as if they had received intimation of the intended assault, and had resolved to annoy the assailants with musquetry and grape-shot from the retired flank of the bastion, where they had still two cannon fit for service; but a few shells falling among them, they retired in confusion. The British troops seized this opportunity, and, directed by the signal of a general discharge from the artillery and mortars, rushed on to the assault, under cover of the thick smoke which blew directly on the town. According to colonel Draper's own account, the total of the troops with which he entered Manilla amounted to little more than 2000, a motley composition of seamen, foldiers, Sepoys, Cafres, Lascars, Topasees, with French and German

man deserters. These assailants mounted the breach with incredible courage and rapidity; while the Spaniards, on the bastion, retired so suddenly, that it was imagined they depended entirely on their mines. Captain Stephenson was immediately ordered to examine the ground; but this precaution was needless. The English troops penetrated into the town with very little opposition, the governor, with the principal magistrates, retiring into the citadel. This retreat was in itself imprudent, because they did not so much as attempt either to defend themselves or to make their escape; and it was accordingly attended with the most disagreeable consequences. Colonel Draper, having no offer of capitulation or surrender made him, could not prevent his troops, for some hours, from making the city feel all the rapaciousness to which a city taken by storm is subjected from the common men; and those he commanded, we may easily suppose, excepting the few regulars among them, were of the most unruly kind. At last, the citadel being in no condition of defence, the archbishop and the magistrates surrendered themselves prisoners at discretion. The marquis de Villa-Medina, with the rest of the Spanish officers, were admitted as prisoners of war, on their parole of honour; and all the Indians were dismissed in safety. The success of the victors was the more agreeable, as it was obtained with very little bloodshed; their loss in the action not exceeding 20 men.

Manilla was no sooner possessed by the British forces, than the admiral went on shore to consult with general Draper on this great event; and to settle a capitulation, that might save so fine a city from destruction: but a draught of terms, in the name of the archbishop, the royal audience, and the city and commerce of Manilla, was presented, which were so unsuitable to their desperate situation, that they were rejected as unsatisfactory and inadmissible. The English commanders then took the pen, and dictated the

conditions on which the city of Manilla should be preserved from plunder, and the inhabitants maintained in their religion, liberties, and properties; to which the Spaniards consented. In consequence of this capitulation, the town and port of Cavite, with the islands and forts depending upon Manilla, were to be surrendered to his Britannic majesty; and four millions of dollars paid as a ransom for the city of Manilla, and the effects of the inhabitants. All the British forces employed in this expedition were but barely sufficient to garrison these important conquests, which were achieved with so little loss, that not above one hundred men were killed in the whole service.

The acquisition of Luconia, with its towns, treasures, artillery, stores, islands, and dependencies, was rendered compleat by another fortunate event. Admiral Cornish no sooner understood by letters taken in the galley with the Spanish governor's nephew, that the galleon Philippina was arrived from Acapulco at Cajayagan, than he sent the Panther and Argo in quest of her. On the 30th of October, being off the island Capul, near the entrance of the Embocadero, they descried a sail standing to the northward; they came up with, and engaged her: after having been cannonaded two hours at a very small distance, she struck their colours and surrendered. But they were not a little surpris'd, when the Spanish general came on board, to learn, that, instead of the St. Philippina, they had taken the Santissima Trinidad, which had departed from Manilla on the 1st day of August, bound for Acapulco. She was a very large ship, so thick in the sides, that the shot of the Panther did not penetrate any part of her, except the upper works. She had 800 men on board; was pierced for sixty cannon, but no more than 13 were mounted. The merchandize on board was registered to the amount of one million and a half of dollars, and the whole cargo supposed to be worth double that sum; so that this capture



capture was a valuable addition to the conquest, and a fresh wound to the enemy.

At no period of time had the Spanish monarchy suffered such grievous and mortifying disasters, as those she sustained in the course of this year, from a war into which she was precipitately plunged, against all the dictates of sound policy and caution, merely to gratify the private inclinations of her sovereign.

The recovery of St. John's, in Newfoundland, was likewise numbered among the successes which gave a lustre to the British arms in the course of this autumn; and was regained without much trouble or loss.

Thus the operations of war were prosecuted with unremitting ardour in the East and West Indies; while the king still persisted in his resolution to embrace the first opportunity of re-establishing peace, which, exclusive of motives of humanity, he thought absolutely necessary for the advantage of his own people. He saw them exhausting their blood and treasure in quarrels, not their own, upon the continent of Germany; and that this fatal drain could not be effectually stopped, but by a general pacification. The national debt was increased to such an enormous burden, as seemed to threaten the immediate ruin of public credit, which a peace alone could prevent. The original scope of the war, namely, the security of the British colonies in America, was fully accomplished; forty ships of the line were rendered useless by hard service: 30,000 recruits were wanted for the army; and the war had occasioned such a scarcity of men, that, during the preceding year, it had been found impracticable to raise above 1500 recruits for the established regiments, though great premiums had been offered to engage men in the service. These considerations reinforced the other reasons which induced his majesty to wish for peace; and his sentiments were warmly espoused by all the members of his council.

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The king of Sardinia is said to have offered his best offices for reviving the negotiation between the courts of London and Versailles; and, in all probability, his mediation was cordially embraced by both. Certain it is, they agreed to treat in good earnest, and to send mutually to each other, a person of the first rank, vested with the powers and character of ambassador and plenipotentiary. The duke of Bedford being chosen for this purpose, by the king of Great Britain, set out for France in the beginning of September; and, at the same time, the duke de Nivernois arrived in England with the same character from his most christian majesty. Many difficulties were levelled by the hearty desire of peace, which animated both monarchs. The humours and interests of their German allies no longer obstructed the progress of the negotiation, which now turned only upon the re-establishment of peace between England and the houses of Bourbon. The king of Prussia delivered from two formidable enemies, in consequence of his late accommodation with Russia and Sweden, was now in a condition to take care of himself: beside, that system was changed, by which his interests had been so warmly espoused at the court of London. In settling the preliminaries, which were discussed in concert with the kings of Spain and Portugal, the belligerent powers made allowances for what might have happened in the East and West Indies, and regulated the concessions to be made in proportion to the success or miscarriage that might attend the British armaments.

We have now nothing remaining unnoticed, but an unfortunate affair which was the last transaction of the war; and which stands in a manner unconnected with any other. Upon the dispute with Spain, some private merchants and adventurers had fitted out two ships called the *Lord Clive* and the *Ambuscade* privateers. The former, being equal in force to a ship of 50 guns, was commanded by one captain M'Namara, who was esteemed as a brave experienced officer,

officer, and he was to be joined by other ships, particularly a Portuguese frigate, to proceed on an expedition to the South Seas. In December 1762, the whole squadron arrived in the river Plata; which they found much better prepared to receive them than they had imagined. The expedition was originally planned for getting possession of Buenos Ayres; but finding the navigation of the river very difficult, they resolved, before they proceeded farther, to attack Nova Colonia; a colony on the north side of the river Plate, which the Spaniards had some time before taken from the Portuguese: an English pilot, whom they found on board a Portuguese ship, undertaking to bring the commodore within pistol-shot of the chief battery on shore. On the 6th of January 1763, the Lord Clive made the signal for engaging, and soon after anchored under the fire of the eastmost battery of the place, while the Ambuscade was severely handled by the fire of the middle and westmost batteries, and from some Spanish frigates. A most fierce cannonading began on both sides, which lasted from eleven in the forenoon till three in the afternoon; when the enemy's fire, that had been before kept up very steadily, began to flag, and they themselves to retire to the eastmost battery, as the place of greatest safety. In this state of the engagement, when the English expected every moment to see the Spanish colours struck, the Lord Clive was found to be on fire. No sooner did the flames appear, than it was easy to perceive that it was impossible to extinguish them. In an instant the attack was discontinued: the Ambuscade, with vast difficulty, got clear of the other ship's flames, but was little better than a wreck, having received a great number of shot between wind and water. As to the crew of the Lord Clive, some perished in the water, some in the flames, and many by the enemy's fire, which recommenced on the occasion: so that no more than 78 of 340, the complement of the ship when the engagement began, escaped with their lives, the ship

6 blowing

blowing up about eight in the evening. The fate of the unhappy sufferers was the more affecting, as it would have been certain destruction for any of the other ships to have moved to their relief. The Ambuscade, in danger of sinking every moment, found means to stop her leaks in the river Plate, and to escape to the Portuguese settlement of Rio de Janeiro, with the loss of 24 killed. It ought however to be confessed, that such of the Lord Clive's crew as reached the shore, were humanely received, treated, and clothed, by the Spaniards, whose resentment seemed to be extinguished in the calamity of their enemies.

The definitive treaty of peace was signed at Paris on February 10th, 1763; and the terms of it were more advantageous to Great Britain and her allies, than those which were agreed to by the late minister. It must be acknowledged that Great Britain, by extending the frontiers of Canada, to the middle of the Mississippi, gained a large tract of fertile country lying on the banks of that river, beside the advantage of a free navigation upon it, and the possession of the port of Mobile: but, in order to secure the English American colonies from all possibility of disturbance from the French, that restless nation ought to have been expelled from the whole country of Louisiana.

England, by this peace, likewise gained an accession, in France's ceding to her the island of Grenada; which, when fully cultivated and peopled, may be of some consequence. She moreover acquired the unsettled islands of Dominica, Tobago, and St. Vincent; but yielded to France the island of St. Lucie, said to be worth all the rest. She retains the settlement of Senegal on the coast of Africa, by which she engrosses the whole gum trade of that country; as for the rock of Goree, which she restored, it was no great sacrifice. The article that relates to the East Indies, was dictated by the directors of the English company; and surely the French have



have no reason to complain of its severity, as it restores them to the possession of all the places they had at the beginning of the war, on condition that they shall maintain neither forts nor forces in the kingdom of Bengal: thus they will enjoy all their former advantages in trade, without the temptation and expence of forming schemes of conquest and dominion.

The demolition of the works belonging to the harbour of Dunkirk, is no doubt a sensible mortification to France, though of little consequence to England, while a squadron of ships is kept at anchor in the Downs. It became an object of some consideration in the war of queen Anne, as a nest of privateers that infested the channel; and was afterward used as an inflammatory term of faction. The danger that may threaten England from Dunkirk, does not depend upon vessels which could be received into the harbour; but must arise from a strong squadron of ships of the line, which may always lie at anchor in the road.

The liberty of cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, granted to the subjects of Great Britain, was undoubtedly a great point gained in their favour; but their obliging themselves to demolish their fortifications on that coast, was a tacit acknowledgement that the privilege was not founded upon right, but derived from favour. The cession of Florida, with the forts of St. Augustine and Pensacola, to Great Britain, was an object of much greater importance. It extended the British dominions along the coast to the mouth of the Mississippi. It removed an asylum for the slaves of the English colonies, who were continually making their escape to St. Augustine. It deprived the Spaniards of an easy avenue, through which they had it in their power to invade Georgia and Carolina; it afforded a large extent of improvable territory, a strong frontier, and a good port in the bay of Mexico, both for the convenience of trade,

and

and the annoyance of the Spaniards in any future contest. But neither the cession of Florida, nor the renunciation of the right to the fishery, nor the permission granted to the English logwood cutters, nor the evacuation of Portugal; nor all these articles together, can ever be esteemed equivalent to the restitution of the Havanna; for which, indeed, the Spanish monarch had no suitable compensation to make, without dismembring his kingdom; unless he had thrown into the scale with his other concessions, that of a free navigation, without search, to the British traders on the coast of New Spain. The crown of Spain was much favoured by the article which stipulates, that the conquests, not included in the treaty either as cessions or restitutions, should be restored without compensation. Neither France nor Spain had any armament on foot, from which they could expect the least acquisition or success; whereas the ministry of England had great reason to believe that the island of Luconia was already reduced.

On the whole, the treaty, though it might have been more favourable in some articles, certainly confirmed great and solid advantages to Great Britain; and will remain as an eternal monument of that moderation which forms the most amiable flower in the wreath of conquest.

Such was the issue of a war, sanguinary beyond example, which had raged with uncommon fury in the four quarters of the globe; which had ruined many fair provinces; and, in the space of seven years, destroyed above a million of lives; which had cost Great Britain, in particular, above two hundred and eighty thousand men, including a great number of brave and able officers, with an incredible quantity of treasure; and increased the burthen of her national debt, from fourscore, to one hundred and thirty millions sterling.

5 FEB 66

The

## The Royal Navy of GREAT BRITAIN as it stood at the close of the Year 1762.

*N. B. Those in Italics were taken from the French or Spaniards.*

FIRST RATES.	Guns.	Guns.	Guns.
Guns	68 Marlborough	50 Norwich	32 Southampton
100 Britannia	74 Mars	60 Nottingham	32 Stagg
100 Royal George	64 <i>Modeste</i>	50 <i>Oriflame</i>	32 Thames
100 R. Sovereign	64 Monmouth	60 Panther	32 <i>Tbetis</i>
	64 Nassau	60 Pembroke	30 Torrington
	80 Newark	50 Portland	32 Tweed
	74 Norfolk	50 Preston	32 Venus
	70 Northumberland	60 Prince of Orange	32 <i>Vestal</i>
	70 Orford	60 Rippon	44 Woolwich
	64 Pr. Frederick	50 Romney	
90 Blenheim	80 Princess Amelia	50 Rochester	SIXTH RATES.
90 Duke	60 Princess Mary	50 Salisbury	28 Actæon
90 St. George	64 Revenge	50 Sutherland	28 <i>Astive</i>
90 Namur	74 Shrewsbury	60 Weymouth	20 Aldborough
90 <i>Neptune</i>	70 Somerset	50 Winchester	20 <i>Amazon</i>
90 Ocean	74 Sterling-Castle	60 Windsor	28 Aquilon
90 Prince	74 <i>Superb</i>	60 York	28 Argo
90 Princess Royal	70 Swiftsure		24 Arundel
84 Royal William	74 <i>Temeraire</i>	FIFTH RATES.	28 Boreas
90 Sandwich	70 Temple	32 Adventure	28 Cerberus
90 Union	74 Terrible	32 Alarm	24 Coventry
	74 Thunderer	32 <i>Aretbusa</i>	20 Deal-Castle
	74 Torbay	32 Æolus	24 Dolphin
64 Africa	64 <i>Trident</i>	32 Bologna	24 <i>Ecbo</i>
64 <i>Alcide</i>	74 Valiant	32 Boston	20 Flamborough
74 Arrogant	70 Vanguard	32 <i>Blonde</i>	24 Fowey
64 Bedford	74 Warspight	36 Brilliant	24 Garland
64 <i>Belliqueux</i>		32 <i>Crescent</i>	20 Gibraltar
74 Bellona	FOURTH RATES.	32 <i>Danae</i>	20 Glasgow
64 Belleisle	60 Achilles	32 Diana	20 Greyhound
64 <i>Bienfaisant</i>	60 America	44 Dover	24 Hind
70 Buckingham	60 Anson	32 Emerald	24 Kennington
70 Burford	50 Antelope	44 Enterprize	28 Levant
80 Cambridge	50 Assistance	32 Flora	24 Lively
64 Captain	50 Centurion	44 Gosport	28 Liverpool
74 <i>Centaur</i>	50 Chatham	32 Juno	28 Lizard
70 Chichester	50 Chester	32 Lark	24 Ludlow Castle
74 Cornwall	Dreadnought	44 Launceston	28 Maidstone
74 Culloden	50 Deptford	30 Looe	24 Mercury
64 Deffiance	60 Dunkirk	44 Lynn	28 Milford
66 Devonshire	60 Edgar	36 <i>Melampe</i>	24 Nightingale
70 Dorsetshire	50 Falkland	32 Minerva	24 Portmahon
74 Dragon	50 Falmouth	32 Montreal	20 Rose
74 Dublin	60 <i>Firme</i>	32 <i>Niger</i>	24 Rye
64 Elizabeth	60 <i>Florentine</i>	36 Pallas	20 Scarborough
64 Essex	50 Guernsey	44 Penzance	20 Seaford
74 Fame	50 Hampshire	44 Phoenix	20 Seahorse
80 Foudroyant	60 Jersey	44 Prince Edw.	28 Shannon
70 Grafton	60 Intrepide	32 Quebec	24 Sheerness
64 Hampton-Court	50 Isis	44 Rainbow	24 Solebay
74 Hercules	60 Lion	36 <i>Renown</i>	20 Syren
74 Hero	60 Medway	32 <i>Repulse</i>	24 Surprise
74 Kent	60 Monague	32 Richmond	28 Tartar
74 Lenox		32 Saphire	14 <i>Terpsichore</i>
74 Magnanime			

Guns.	Guns.	Guns.	Infernal
28 Trent	14 Grampus	8 Savage	Fire-Sh. no Guns.
28 Valour	10 Granado	14 Senegal	Ætna
28 Unicorn	8 Gorce	14 Sardome	Cormorant
24 Wager	8 Happy	8 Speedwell	Grampus
Sloops.			
14 Albany	8 Hazard	10 Spy	Lightning
10 Alderney	14 Hornet	14 Swallow	Pluto
10 Antigua	14 Hound	14 Swift	Raven
12 Badger	10 Hunter	14 Swan	Roman Emperor
16 Baltimore	14 Jamaica	16 Tamer	Proserpine
10 Barbadoes	10 King's Fisher	Terror	Salamander
10 Bonetta	8 Laurel	10 Thunder	Strombolo
8 Cruzier	6 Lurcher	14 Trial	Vesuvius
18 Cygnet	18 Merlin	14 Vulture	
10 Diligence	16 Mortar	8 Wasp	YACHTS.
14 Dispatch	18 Nautilus	16 Weazle	10 Dorset
10 Druid	8 Peggy	8 Wolf	8 Fubbs
14 Escorte	10 Pomona	10 Zephir	8 Katherine
16 Favourite	10 Otter	BOMB Vessels.	Augusta
18 Ferret	14 Pelican	Basilisk	STORESHIPS.
8 Flambro's Prize	14 Porcupine	Blaft	20 Crown
8 Fly	18 Postillion	Carcafs	24 South-Sea Castle
14 Fortune	8 Ranger	Firedrake	
	Racehorfe	Furnace	
	14 Saltash		

## Ships out of Commission and building.

Rates.	Guns.	Names.	Rates.	Guns.	Names.	Rates.	Guns.	Names.
3	74	Albion	5	44	Eltham	3	84	Ramillies
3	64	Asia	5	44	Expedition	3	64	Royal Oak
4	60	Augusta	3	80	Formidable	4	60	Rupert
5	44	Anglesea	4	50	Gloucester	4	50	Ruby
5	32	Aurora	5	44	Glory			R. Charlotte
2	90	Barfleur	6	28	Guadalupe			Yacht
		Ditto, a new ship	5	44	Hastings	3	64	Suffolk
3	80	Boyne	5	41	Hector	4	60	St. Albans
4	50	Bristol	5	30	Jafon	6	24	Sphinx
6	24	Blandford	2	90	London	3	74	Triumph
	90	Blenheim	5	44	Mary Galley		28	Vengeance
		Hospital-ship			Martin Sloop		10	Viper
3	74	Canada			Mary Yacht	1	100	Victory
4	60	Canterbury	3	74	Monarch			Vulture Sloop
3	74	Courageux	4	50	Nonfuch	4		Warwick
4	50	Colchester	3	80	Pr. Caroline	5		Winchelsea
3	74	Defiance	4	60	Pr. Louisa	4	60	Worcester
6	24	Experiment	4	60	Plymouth			William and
4	60	Eagle	5	44	Poole			Mary Yacht
3	64	Edinburgh	1	90	Queen	3	64	Yarmouth
4	60	Exeter	1	100	Royal Anne			

## Complement of Men, and Weight of Metal, in the Royal Navy.

Ships of three Decks.					Ships of two Decks.				
Guns.	Men.	Metal.			Guns.	Men.	Metal.		
100	850	42	24	12 6	60	420	24	12	6
90	750	32	18	12 6	60	400	24	9	6
80	600	32	18	9 6	50	350	24	12	6
					50	300	18	9	6
80	74	650	32	18 9	44	40	250	18	9 6
70	520	32	18	9	Frigates of one Deck.				
68	Ditto				36	240	12	6	
66	Ditto				32	220	12	6	
64	480	24	12	6	28	200	9	4	
					20	160	9	4	

The End of the SEVENTH VOLUME.



